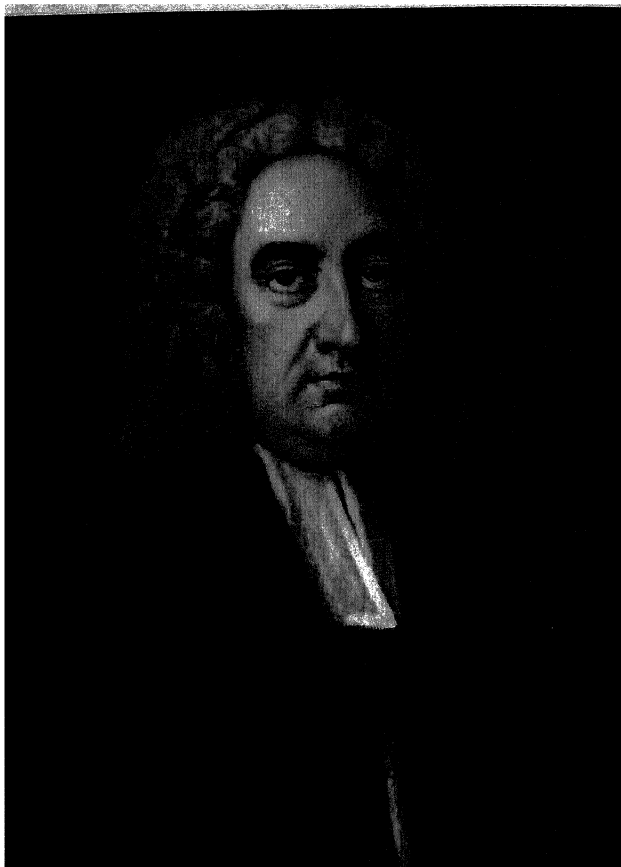


THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

VOL. I



Jonathan Swift

From the full-length portrait by Francis Bindon, at Howth Castle, Dublin.

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

EDITED BY
F. ELRINGTON BALL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THE VERY REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.
DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S

VOL. I



LONDON
G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

1910

CHISWICK PRESS: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

PREFACE

TO the memory of Caesar Litton Falkiner my work on these volumes is dedicated. Three years ago he consented to act as the editor, and entered upon the task with an enthusiasm that foretold a successful termination to his labours. Few could rival him in gifts for the undertaking. Ease and grace of diction were united, in his case, with a lawyer's skill in the examination of evidence and a temperament essentially judicial; and knowledge of the sources for the elucidation of Irish history, on which he was recognized at the time of his death as a first authority, was combined with wide reading in general literature and a close study of the political history of England. With such equipment and with exhaustless energy there was reason to hope that Falkiner's connection with this edition of the great Dean's correspondence would have led to the solution of many of the problems surrounding Swift's life, and there was a certainty that it would have resulted in a brilliant exposition of the constitutional questions with which Swift is identified. But it was ordered otherwise. Within a year of his acceptance of the editorship, Falkiner was taken in the plenitude of his strength from his friends and his country. For a great part of my life Falkiner had given me the benefit of his friendship, a friendship marked by its unselfishness, sincerity, and steadfastness, and by his last disposition indicated his desire that I should, so far as possible, carry on what he had begun. In response to this call from one, to whose companionship I owe in a large measure any fitness to be his successor, I have annotated these pages, and I issue them now with the hope that the fresh light which they throw on

Swift's life and times may compensate for the delay of the editor.

Before entering on a consideration of the papers which have guided the preparation of this edition of Correspondence, it will be necessary to review the process through which the larger portion of the letters were originally communicated, and the works in which the correspondence has been since made accessible. Considered as it does, a period of over a century and a half, the work is long one, and for convenience of reference it has been deemed desirable to adopt a chronological and tabular arrangement, giving in each case the particular edition of the purposes of the present one.

NO.	DATE.	EDITOR AND EDITION.	CONTENTS.
I	1741	George Faulkner; "Works of Dr. J. Swift." 12mo, vol. vii.	Letters to Pope, Gay, and Ingbrooke.
II	1745 to 1762	The same; <i>Ibid.</i> , vols. viii-xi.	Letters to Abp. King, Faulkner, &c.
III	1766	John Hawkesworth; "Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift." Sm. 8vo, vols. xii, xiv, and xvii.	Letters in II to Peterborough, Carden, &c.
IV	1766	The same; "Letters written by Swift and his Friends." 8vo, vols. i-iii.	Letters to and from Ingbrooke, Mordaunt, E. German, Abp. King, &c. Vanessa, &c.
V	1767	Deane Swift; "Letters written by Swift and his Friends." 12mo, vols. i-iii.	Letters to and from Carden, Ford, Mrs. Pender, Sheridan, Mordaunt, &c.
VI	1767	George Faulkner; "Works of Dr. J. Swift." 12mo, vols. xiv-xvi.	Letters in IV to Walls, &c.
VII	1784	Thomas Sheridan; "Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift." 8vo, vols. xi-xiii.	Letters in II additions, chronologically arranged.
VIII	1784	The same; <i>Ibid.</i> , vol. xiv.	Letters in I additions, and chronologically arranged.

NO.	DATE.	EDITOR AND EDITION.	CONTENTS.
IX	1803	John Nichols; "Works of Rev. Jonathan Swift." 18mo, vols. xv-xx.	Letters in VII and VIII with additions, arranged in chronological order.
X	1814 and 1824	Sir Walter Scott; "Works of Jonathan Swift." 8vo, 1824, vols. xv-xix.	Letters in IX with others to and from Vanessa, etc.
XI	1841	Thomas Roscoe; "Works of Jonathan Swift." Roy. 8vo, vol. ii.	Letters in X with some omissions.
XII	1899	George Birkbeck Hill; "Unpublished Letters of Swift." 8vo.	Letters to and from Knightley Chetwode.

The chief aim in designing the present edition has been to make the Correspondence as complete as possible, and to give the most reliable version that could be obtained of each letter. During the last half century examination of public and private collections of manuscripts has disclosed for the purposes of the Correspondence many autographs and original copies which were not accessible in the time of Nichols and Scott, and which have often not been fully or accurately transcribed by their predecessors. When available these first sources have been invariably used, and when not attainable some pains have been taken to select from the previous editions what appeared to be the most faithful reproduction. In each case the authority, whether original, copy, or editor, has been indicated at the head of the letter, and when necessary this information has been supplemented in a footnote.

It has also been in this edition the object to provide a text which would be true, and, at the same time, clear and easily read. As regards the vast majority of the letters, even if desirable, a facsimile is no longer possible, and throughout these volumes modern spelling and style have been adopted. In the punctuation some revision has been necessary, principally through the frequent use by Swift

and his correspondents of a colon followed by a capital, and as the letters were often written without break it has been thought permissible not to adhere always to the paragraphing in letters already printed, or to leave the reader without that assistance in letters printed for the first time.

In addition, a study of the letters and account-books belonging to Swift has enabled the chronological order of many letters hitherto undated to be determined, and, in some instances, wrong dates, which had been attached by previous editors, to be detected.

Besides a very great increase in the Correspondence, a comparison of the present edition with that of Sir Walter Scott will show that there are few letters included in his edition which appear in this one without some alteration. As will be seen from the frequency with which his name is quoted as the authority, Sheridan has been found the editor whose work evinces the greatest care, and there is reason to think that he had means no longer in existence of correcting the text given by his predecessors. The most extraordinary view of the duties of an editor was taken by Faulkner, and solecisms, which Sheridan noticed and corrected, arose not infrequently from Faulkner's confidence that he could improve what came from even the pen of Swift. For instance, the use in the third person singular of verbs of the termination *th*, to which Sheridan calls attention, is not generally found in Swift's autograph letters, and appears to have been due to Faulkner.

The principal sources from which the previous editions have been augmented and revised are:

- a* The collection formed by John Forster, and now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
- b* A volume of autograph letters of Swift in the possession of Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle Street.
- c* Three volumes of autograph letters and drafts, being the material for Hawkesworth's "Letters written

by Swift and his Friends," preserved in the British Museum.

- d* "Archbishop King's Correspondence," being copies of the letters written by him, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
- e* A transcript of the correspondence between Swift and Pope, Gay and Bolingbroke, preserved amongst the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat, and used by the Rev. Whitwell Elwin for his edition of the Works of Alexander Pope.
- f* Autograph letters from Swift to Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford, and Edward, 2nd Earl of Oxford, preserved amongst the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey, and printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

It remains only to remark that the present edition is the first in which any extensive annotation has been attempted. Faulkner and Hawkesworth dropped here and there a note containing an observation of a most obvious kind, or information that would be known to almost any reader. Sheridan inserted pedantic criticisms of Swift's grammar and construction. Nichols added only such knowledge as he had gained in the compilation of his noble "History of Leicestershire," and Sir Walter Scott is responsible for some platitudes which there is good ground to believe were the work of an assistant. But this failure to explain the references in the letters is at least as much attributable to inability as to reluctance to undertake the toil. Apart from the countless books which the press of to-day brings to their aid, workers in the present age are too apt to forget that to their predecessors the Public Record Offices of England and Ireland, and the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, were not even a dream.

To previous workers in the Swift field my indebtedness cannot be sufficiently acknowledged. Without the labours of Mr. Temple Scott on his edition of Swift's "Prose Works," supplemented as it is by the suggestive biblio-

graphy of Mr. Spencer Jackson and the exhaustive index of Miss Jacob, my notes could not have been written. In time also to lessen research, there has come to me Mr. Ernst Browning's valuable edition of Swift's Poems. Of the assistance rendered by others my frequent references to them must serve as an inadequate recognition, and in this connection it may be mentioned that in the case of Hawkesworth, Sheridan, Nichols, and Scott, the "Life" used by me is the one published with the respective editions of Swift's Works given in the tabular statement, and that the edition used by me of Orrery's "Remarks" is that of 1752; Delany's "Observations" that of 1754; Deane Swift's "Essay" that of 1755; Barrett's "Essay" that of 1808; Wilde's "Life" that of 1849; Forster's "Life" that of 1875; Leslie Stephen's "Swift" that of 1882; and Sir Henry Craik's "Life" that of 1894.

As correspondence preserved at South Kensington shows, Swift students owe to the public spirit of Mr. John Murray's father many of the treasures which the Forster Collection contains; and now, actuated by a similar motive, and by sympathy with those seeking to preserve Swift's writings, Mr. John Murray has given permission and facilities for the reproduction in these volumes of the unique collection of Swift autographs in his possession. Two most interesting letters which, owing to an error due to the change of editors, it has not been possible to place in chronological order, have also been included through the kindness of Mr. More Molyneux McCowen, and help of a similar kind given by many others will be found to be acknowledged in the footnotes.

In conclusion my thanks are gratefully tendered to the Dean of St. Patrick's, Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis, and Mr. T. J. Westropp for their help in the reading and correction of proofs, and to Miss Cox and Miss Thrift for their skill in the work of transcription.

F. ELRINGTON BALL.

DUBLIN,

29 *September*, 1910.

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¹ Mr. Anthony Carey Stannus, by whom this drawing was made in 1855 for John Forster, exhibited during the later part of the last century figures and landscapes, generally in water-colours, at the Royal Academy and other London exhibitions. Amongst his exhibits are found such subjects as "An Irish Cabin," "A Fisher Boy on the Coast of Antrim," "The Battle of the Boyne," etc., and two portraits by him are in the possession of the Belfast Water Commissioners. For this information I am indebted to Mr. W. G. Strickland.

ERRATA

Page 37, note 1, line 19, *for* "Adam" *read* "Anne"; line 24, *for* "W. J." *read* "W. G."; line 25, *for* "V 26" *read* "VI 162"; line 26 *for* "IV" *read* "VI."

Page 169, note 3, line 1, *for* "n. 3" *read* "n. 1."

Page 193, note 3, line 1, *for* "Earl of Poulett" *read* "Earl Poulett."

Page 200, note 3, *add* "The memorial as presented to Harley will be found in 'The MSS. of the Duke of Portland' (Hist. MSS. Com.), iv, 609. The facts are the same, the arrangement is slightly different."

Page 244, line 3, *for* "O. S. 6" *read* "O. S. 7."

Page 255, line 5, *for* "Sheridan" *read* "Nichols."

INTRODUCTION

THE correspondence of Jonathan Swift covers a period of fifty years of political strife and literary activity in England, and a study of it is indispensable for any one who seeks to understand the intrigues of political parties during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, or to realize the personality of those who in that age attained a prominent place in the hierarchy of English literature. In Swift's letters we see statesmen and poets and philosophers at home, as it were, and we are admitted to a view of their habits of life and thought and speech not easily to be gained elsewhere. For this reason, as well as for their literary excellence, the letters have always been read with curiosity and profit; and have been published in many forms during the last century and a half. The most useful, as well as the largest, collection up to the present time is contained in Scott's edition of 1824; but since its appearance not only have many additional letters of Swift been given to the public, but much new material, valuable for the purposes of annotation, has been made accessible, so that Scott's work cannot be regarded as final, or as entirely satisfactory for the illustration of Swift's life.

The late Mr. Forster, with indefatigable industry and devotion to his subject, made large collections of Swift's correspondence which his death prevented him from using to the full. His "Life" of Swift only extends to the year 1711. Mr. Forster's manuscripts were bequeathed to the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, where they now remain, and many letters to, and from, Swift have been recovered for the purposes of these volumes, which hitherto have found no place in the editions of Swift's works. Some of the most interesting of these are

the letters to Knightley Chetwode, of which careful transcripts were made by Mr. Forster. These letters were published (from less accurate copies) by the late Dr. Birkbeck Hill in 1899, but he did not print Chetwode's letters to the Dean, without which many of Swift's allusions and jests are unintelligible. Also, there is a considerable series of letters from Swift to Archdeacon Walls, which have never been printed, although Sir Henry Craik has made good use of them in his admirable "Life," the most judicious and most complete account of Swift's career that we possess. For the use of these special acknowledgements must be made to Mr. Murray, who, with a generosity traditional in the great firm of Albemarle Street, has placed his rights in them at the disposal of the publishers of this edition. Again, the manuscripts of Archbishop King have been thoroughly examined, and a large amount of new material has been gathered by the editor, Mr. F. Elrington Ball, from this source. The Cork MSS. also contain letters of importance, which hitherto have only been used by Sir Henry Craik; and in "The Orrery Papers" some letters of interest addressed to Swift have been printed, permission to reproduce which has been courteously granted. Mr. Elwin's edition of Pope's correspondence has been drawn upon for a much fuller and more accurate report of his letters to and from Swift than Scott printed; and, in like manner, there is a good deal of material in Lady Llanover's edition of Mrs. Delany's correspondence which has enabled the editor to supply lacunae in Scott's edition. Furthermore, the various Reports of the Historical Manuscript Commission contain important letters from Swift, preserved in the great private libraries of England, which are now for the first time included in an edition of his correspondence; and a few letters have been added which have not been published before.¹

¹ A few other unpublished letters, to which the Editor has not as yet been able to have access, are known to be in private hands; but it is hoped that before his work is concluded he may be permitted to see some of them at least.

This wealth of fresh material suggested some years ago the project of a new edition, and considerable progress had been made in its preparation by the late Mr. Caesar Litton Falkiner, when, to the grief of his friends, death unexpectedly and suddenly removed him from the literary labours which he loved, and which had already resulted in many valuable contributions to Irish history. His friend, Mr. F. Elrington Ball, who has taken up the work, has made large additions to Mr. Falkiner's collections; and he has now, for the first time, arranged the correspondence in chronological sequence. Students of Swift's career, who have hitherto been obliged to turn from this volume to that—from Sheridan to Roscoe and from Roscoe to Birkbeck Hill—to ascertain what letters are extant for a particular date, will thus be enabled to follow with ease the writer's movements. As is natural, the material is more ample for the later than for the earlier years; few thought it worth while to preserve letters from Mr. Swift, Sir William Temple's dependant, but once he became famous every one would have been proud to number the Dean among his correspondents.

It is proper here to call attention to two specially important letters of Swift's early days which have survived. They came into Mr. Elrington Ball's hands too late for insertion in their proper chronological sequence (their dates are 3 May, 1692, and 6 December, 1693); but they will be found under the heading "Supplemental Letters" at the end of this volume. They are of peculiar interest, as showing how eager Swift was in early years to achieve excellence as a poet. Unconscious at this stage, apparently, of his matchless powers as a writer of exact and powerful prose, he spent much time in the elaboration of verses, which even his warmest admirers will not count as adding to his fame.

A letter, which it has been found impossible to print in this collection, as its owner is not known to us, is one which is dated from Paris in the year 1713, and addressed to

Charles Ford.¹ If this be, as it is alleged to be, an autograph of Swift's, it presents a curious problem, for Swift was never in France.

There are three other letters signed "Jonathan Swift," now in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch, which, at first sight, suggested a similar problem. They were written to John, Duke of Montagu, who was then on the Continent, on 31 July, 12 August, and 1 October of the same year as the Paris letter, viz. 1713; and they all purport to be written from England. Yet in July, 1713, Swift was in co. Meath, as can be abundantly proved from his correspondence, and from his account-books, which leave us in no doubt as to his movements, and as to the places from which he addressed his correspondents. This fact immediately suggested a doubt as to the authenticity of the Montagu letters, and the doubt is reinforced by a study of their contents. They deal with matters in which Swift can hardly be supposed to have taken any interest, such as the improvements on the Duke of Montagu's estate, and we have no reason to suppose that the Dean was an intimate of the Duke at any time. An inspection of the autographs, which I was permitted to make by the courtesy of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, confirms the judgement which Mr. Elrington Ball had independently reached, viz. that these letters are not the Dean's. The handwriting is wholly unlike Swift's; the signature in full is not in his manner; nor was it his custom to address his letters as these are addressed. In the circumstances it has been thought best to exclude these three documents from Swift's correspondence, but as they have been admitted as genuine by those responsible for the Report on the Duke of Buccleuch's manuscripts,² they are printed in an Appendix to Vol. II of this edition for the convenience of students.

No new letters have been discovered to explain the exact

¹ In 1909 this letter was in the possession of Mr. Sabin of 172, New Bond Street, but it is now in America.

² See Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. i, p. 359.

nature of the relations between Swift and Esther Johnson. There is a hint, indeed, in a hitherto unpublished letter of Chetwode to Swift, written in October, 1714, which is worth noting. "The ladies of your acquaintance are, I confess, a little hard upon you in regard to faces, to tie you down to ugliness and age. But you know best if it be not just, *since the world says you may command a very agreeable one and yet defer it.*" The words in italics are erased in the draft (now in the Forster Collection), probably because, on second thoughts, the writer feared to arouse Swift's indignation by alluding to so private a matter as Stella's regard for him. Yet they show (that cannot be doubted) that in 1714 gossip was busy with the two names.¹ In an earlier letter from King to Swift (also published now for the first time), dated 5 August, 1713, the Archbishop ventures to hint that the Dean's headaches were due to mental anxiety. "An odd thought came into my mind on reading that you were among willows, imagining that perhaps your mistress had forsaken you, and that was the cause of your malady. If that be the case, cheer up; the loss may be repaired, and, I hope, the remedy easy." It is evident from this that the Archbishop expected that Swift would marry. So, too, Arbuthnot writes,² "My wife . . . wishes you well married."

It does not appear, however, that Bolingbroke regarded the Stella connexion as anything more than a *liaison*.³ "With what pleasure should I hear you *inter vina fugam Stellae maerere protervae*," he writes,⁴ bidding Swift come to France to see him. And, again,⁵ he alludes to "the present Stella, whoever she be," a phrase which must have

¹ This I have shown in my essay on "The Relations between Swift and Stella" in Swift's "Prose Works," xii, 91.

² 11 December, 1718.

³ The scurrilous and nasty volume entitled "Gulliveriana" by Swift's old enemy, Dean Smedley, which appeared in 1728, alludes again and again to Stella and Vanessa as Swift's mistresses, the usual quotations being made from "Cadenus and Vanessa."

⁴ 12 September, 1724.

⁵ 17 February, 1727.

hurt Swift to the quick, dreading, as he then did, the issue of Stella's illness. Next year¹ Bolingbroke seems to have heard, if not of Stella's death, at any rate of its approach, for he has no jest to offer, but only a grave and sympathetic word about Swift's sudden departure from London: "if indeed it was your own illness which made you in such haste to be at Dublin." It is not likely that Swift confided in Bolingbroke as to this tender passage in his life, or that Bolingbroke believed that Swift had married Stella. But Bolingbroke stands alone in this respect. The Dean's other intimates, as has been pointed out elsewhere,² accepted the marriage as a fact.

A hitherto unpublished letter written from Laracor to Archdeacon Walls³ contains an enigmatical sentence, which perhaps contains the key to the mystery. He is congratulating Walls upon the birth of a daughter, and he writes in characteristic vein: "I shall be in town, I hope,

¹ February, 1728.

² See my essay in Swift's "Prose Works," xii, 97. It should be noted here that the dates given by me in that essay (p. 98) for Swift's movements in 1716 need to be corrected in some trifling particulars, now that his entire correspondence is before us. He wrote from Trim on 26 February, from Dublin on 24 March, from Trim on 6 May, from Martry on 15 May, from Gallstown on 6, 14, 17, 18 June. He was back at his Cathedral in July, and appointed a Sub-Dean on 28 July. He wrote to Pope, apparently from Dublin, on 30 August. We do not know of his whereabouts from this until 4 October, when he wrote a letter from Trim. He wrote from Dublin on 13 November, and from Trim continuously from 6 December to 3 February, 1717. He was back again in Dublin on 18 March at a Chapter meeting; and (apparently) on 9 March, since we have a letter from him of that date to Archbishop King which from internal evidence would seem to have been written at Dublin, although in Faulkner's and Scott's editions of the Correspondence it is dated from London, an obvious mistake. If, then, Swift was secretly married to Stella, as tradition has it, in the deanery garden at Clogher during the year 1716, it would appear that the date of the marriage must have been between 30 August and 4 October, a period during which there is a gap in the correspondence. The evidence that is available does not permit us to go beyond this.

³ 7 August, 1713.

by the time appointed, and contribute as far towards making your new inhabitant a Christian as one of that sex can be. . . . The old fellow you are pleased to be so free with is a very honest gentleman, though he has not your faculty of increasing the Queen's subjects." May it not be that we have here a veiled allusion to that incapacity for married life, which has often been thought to be the solution of the puzzle as to his relations with Stella, as well as the root of his melancholy?

It has, indeed, been often suggested¹ that, so far from this explanation being possible, Vanessa, at any rate, was Swift's mistress, and that his correspondence with her is patient of no other meaning. Horace Walpole² gave a very sinister interpretation of some phrases relating to the drinking of coffee, in Swift's letter to Vanessa of 13 July, 1722, and he has been followed by Dr. S. Lane-Poole in an interesting essay.³ But such an interpretation is by no means necessary. Coffee in those days was a luxury, and Swift speaks of it as such elsewhere,⁴ and also of its scarcity⁵ and costliness.⁶ Further, it was, in the Dean's opinion, an unwholesome⁷ beverage, and ought therefore to be indulged in sparingly. The Vanhomrighs' coffee was particularly good,⁸ and it was Swift's habit, when in London, to drink it at their house. And it is impossible to suppose that the phrase "to drink coffee" had any meaning for him in this context other than its most literal and innocent meaning, when we find him writing to Stella: "I sat the evening with Mrs. Vanhomrigh and drank coffee."⁹ In the face of this passage it is perverse to find a bad meaning in the phrase when used in connexion with Hester Vanhomrigh.

¹ See note, p. xxiii *supra*.

² Letter to G. Montagu, 20 June, 1766.

³ "Fortnightly Review," February, 1910, p. 331.

⁴ "Works," vii, 199.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii, 143.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii, 112, and xi, 336.

⁸ Swift to Vanessa, 5 July, 1721.

⁹ Journal to Stella, 9 October, 1711.

A curious scrap of writing which seems to bear on the Dean's relations to Vanessa was discovered some years ago on the fly-leaf of a Banns' book among the Parish Registers of Frisby, in Leicestershire, and is perhaps worthy of mention. It runs as follows: "from Miss Vanhomrigh S¹ Dr. Swift declaring her passion for him and complaing [*sic*] of his neglect of her believe me it is with him."² The occurrence of this note in a Banns' book gave rise to the conjecture that Swift had contemplated a quiet marriage with Vanessa at Frisby. But the book, on the fly-leaf of which this enigmatical memorandum is scribbled, covers the period from 1754 to 1792,³ and is thus much too late to be a Banns' book of Swift's day, so that no inference of the kind suggested is legitimate. Swift's maternal uncle, Thomas Erick, was vicar of Frisby from 1663 to 1681, and the name of Swift repeatedly occurs in the Registers. For some years before her death, in 1710, Swift's mother lived in Leicester, about ten miles distant from Frisby, so that there would naturally be in the village an interest in the great man whose forbears had been well known there. It was probably in this way that the note about Vanessa came to be scribbled, at a later day, on the fly-leaf of the Banns' book. But what the meaning of "believe me it is with him," may have been is a puzzle which cannot now be solved.

It is not likely that any more letters from Swift to either of the two women—Esther Johnson and Hester Vanhomrigh⁴—whose names are inseparably associated with his, will ever be brought to light, or that any exist which have not

¹ Perhaps "to."

² Leicestershire and Rutland "Notes and Queries," ed. J. and T. Spencer, vol. ii (1891-3), p. 3.

³ Cf. "Trans. of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society," vol. v (1875-81), p. 26.

⁴ I follow the customary spellings of these Christian names. But Dr. S. Lane-Poole found on examination of the Richmond registers that Stella was baptized as *Hester*. Vanessa's name was apparently *Esther*. But the orthography of old Registers is not to be depended on.

been published. With the exception of the famous "Journal" (which may have been preserved by him because of the details of political movements that it records), only one of his letters¹ to Stella is extant; probably the rest were destroyed by Swift after her death, and in default of the evidence which they might supply, the exact nature of his relations with her must always remain doubtful. It is evident that his letters to Vanessa were written, in most cases, with careful deliberation, so that they could not be brought up against him at a later time.

The important series of letters from Archbishop King, which are now for the first time printed in full, helps us better to understand the relations between King and Swift. It is clear that the two men had a real respect for each other, and their common devotion to the "Irish," *i.e.*, the Anglo-Irish interest, was a bond of sympathy. That King was a sagacious and wise prelate is abundantly illustrated by his correspondence; and he understood (as his brother bishops did not) the importance of enlisting Swift's powerful advocacy in the cause of the Irish Church. Swift, on his side, was too clear-sighted not to recognize that the Archbishop of Dublin was beyond all comparison the ablest of the Irish bishops, as well as a man of sincere piety and unaffected goodness. Yet these two, neighbours for so many years, and with so many interests in common (King had been Dean of St. Patrick's some twenty years before Swift), never heartily liked each other. Their voluminous letters are written with a certain reserve, each being unwilling, for all his respect for his correspondent's character, fully to trust the other.

The Archbishop's letter of good wishes, written on 16 May 1713 to Swift, with its recommendation that the new Dean should busy himself with the erection of a spire on St. Patrick's tower, could not have given much pleasure to its recipient, whose interests had hitherto been concerned with high politics rather than with bricks and mortar.

¹ 30 April, 1721.

"Present my service to Dean Swift," King writes¹ from England to Bishop Stearne (who had been Swift's predecessor); "pray give him all the good advice and assistance you can, and put him on presenting the methods and pattern you have set him, and assure him from me of all my good wishes and endeavours to serve him, and, if he go in the path that is set before him, I dare promise him some advantage that he otherwise will never obtain." There is a veiled threat in this last sentence, indicating that King foresaw (with only too clear vision) the probability of friction between him and his new Dean. He had ventured two years before to give some advice to Swift as to his future, and had suggested² that he might undertake to write a book on a theological subject. Swift's comment on this in the "Journal to Stella"³ shows that he resented the Archbishop's tone. "A rare spark this, with a pox! But I shall answer him as rarely. Methinks he should have invited me over, and given me some hopes or promises. But hang him! and so good night."

Swift's first request to the Archbishop was refused. He asked⁴ for his friend Parnell the prebend of Dunlavin, which he had to vacate on his installation as Dean, and which was in the Archbishop's gift. But King, in a very proper and interesting letter,⁵ replied that he felt bound to offer the prebend to the curate-in-charge, as he thought that those who served the cures should hold the canonries. The Archbishop's reasons are unanswerable (his intimacy with the family would naturally have predisposed him in favour of Parnell), but Swift did not like to have his petitions rejected; and it was not a good beginning for their new relations with each other.

A letter to King,⁶ written on behalf of the Lord Lieu-

¹ 24 June, 1713.

² 1 September, 1711.

³ 12 September, 1711.

⁴ 30 April, 1713.

⁵ 25 May, 1713.

⁶ 25 May, 1715. This letter has been published in King's life, "A Great Archbishop of Dublin," pp. 180 ff.

tenant, suggests that the Archbishop's suspicions of Swift's political unsoundness had gone so far as to cause the seizure of a parcel of papers addressed to the Dean.¹ "His Excellency commanded me to give you his thanks for it, and he hopes that if there appears enough against the doctor to justify it, he is kept in confinement." Yet Swift writes to Chetwode² that the Archbishop "told me how kind he had been in preventing my being sent to, etc." Swift had nothing to thank the Archbishop for, as it would seem; and King does not appear to have acted quite straightforwardly, if it was really at his instigation that Swift's correspondence was seized. A year later he wrote to Swift:³ "We have a strong report that my Lord Bolingbroke will return here and be pardoned. . . . I hope he can tell no ill story of you"; but on Swift's expostulating with him for making such a suggestion, he replies⁴ that it was only a jest. Yet it was an ugly jest, and the Archbishop must have known that the Dean would not relish it. The truth is, as I have said, that the two men never heartily liked, or unreservedly trusted, each other; and now, that the full correspondence is before us, it appears that Swift had good reason for distrusting his "powerful neighbour at St. Sepulchre's."⁵

There is yet another cause which may be assigned for the gradual estrangement of these two great men, who ought to have been friends. Narcissus Marsh, Primate of All Ireland, died on 2 November, 1713, after a long illness. Swift at one time, as it seems, had desired that

¹ Mr. Ball points out to me that this is certain. A letter, preserved among the Blenheim MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Report 8, Pt. i, p. 58), of E. Budgell to the Lord Lieutenant, of date 19 May, 1715, describes the seizure of the parcel and states that by direction of the Lords Justices (of whom the Archbishop was one) two letters which it contained were forwarded to the authorities for examination.

² 21 June, 1715.

³ 22 November, 1716.

⁴ 12 January, 1717.

⁵ King's letter of 9 January, 1711, contains a severe criticism of a brochure of Swift, of whose authorship he affects ignorance.

King should be Marsh's successor in the see of Armagh. "I hope for the Church's good," he writes,¹ "that your Grace's friends will do their duty, in representing you as the person the Kingdom wishes to succeed him. I know not how your dispositions stand that way." A letter of King's, written many years later,² when the Primacy was again vacant, shows that he would have accepted it in 1713, had it been offered him. But it is clear that between December, 1710, and December, 1713, Swift had changed his mind, for, when it came to the point, he supported Lindsay for the Primacy, who wrote to thank him for his help.³ Mr. Elrington Ball suggests that Swift had hoped to win over King to the Tory party, to whom his countenance would have been most valuable, but that finding it impossible to convert him into a staunch political ally, he threw him over in favour of Lindsay. However this may be, the facts remain that Swift did not support King's claim to preferment, when it was in his power to do so, any more than King had supported him for advancement to the vacant Deanery of St. Patrick's. Swift respected the Archbishop, none the less, and paid a handsome tribute to his memory after his death in a paraphrase of one of Horace's Odes (iv, 9).

Letters on Cathedral business, or addressed to the members of the Chapter of St. Patrick's are few, despite the fact that no Dean ever displayed a deeper or more intelligent interest in the antiquities of the Cathedral, and that no Dean before Swift's time concerned himself so intimately with the ordering of the Cathedral services. Some characteristic letters about the Choir are extant,⁴ and show the pains he took in the matter of patronage. There

¹ 30 December, 1710; see also under 8 January, 1712. But by this latter date Swift was beginning to express doubts of the Archbishop. He writes to Stella on 7 January: "I won't trust him"; and again on 14 February: "I can defend him no longer."

² See Mant's "History of the Church of Ireland," ii, 412.

³ 5 January, 1714. See Mant, *loc. cit.*, ii, 262.

⁴ *E.g.*, 9 February, 1720.

is, besides, a series about the Cathedral monuments to eminent persons, such as Schomberg and Archbishop Jones.¹ There are also some letters about the Vicars Choral and their powers of making leases, etc.² But it is remarkable that of the numerous letters which he must have written to his Canons, hardly any were preserved. Two friendly answers to offers of hospitality from Dr. Blachford, who was Chancellor of St. Patrick's,³ and two notes to Dr. Delany are almost the only communications with members of his Chapter which remain. Doubtless they did not understand, as his friends in England did, that a letter from Jonathan Swift was worth preserving.

Among the most charming letters in the whole correspondence are those which passed between Swift and Dr. John Arbuthnot. Of Arbuthnot's friendship and esteem any man might be proud; and it is a noteworthy testimony to Swift's integrity and highmindedness that he enjoyed the confidence of this kindly, good man to the end. The touching letter of 4 October, 1734, written by Arbuthnot but a few months before his death, discloses genuine respect as well as friendship; and Swift's reply is alike creditable to writer and receiver. Indeed, it is remarkable how unerring was Swift's discernment of genuine goodness. His appreciation of Arbuthnot was as just as his appreciation of Addison, of whom he wrote "that man has worth enough to give reputation to an age."⁴

A curious circumstance about Arbuthnot and his friends Swift and Pope was brought to light a few years ago, which deserves to be more widely known than it seems to be. It is that they were, all three, Freemasons. Arbuthnot's name is entered in the Grand Lodge Register of English Freemasons of 1725, his lodge meeting at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden; and in the similar, but less accurately

¹ See 10 May, 1728; 20 November, 1729; 20 April, 20 May, 20 July, 25 September, 26 October, 1731; 15 June, 1732; 21 October, 1735.

² *E.g.*, 31 December, 1713.

³ 12 and 17 December, 1734.

⁴ 14 September, 1708.

transcribed, Register of 1730, Mr. Alexr. Pope and Mr. John Swift are set down as members, their lodge being held at "the Goat at the foot of the Haymarket."¹ This makes it tolerably certain that the satirical "Letter from the Grand Mistress of the Freemasons to George Faulkner, Printer," printed about 1728, is a genuine production of Swift's pen; it is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the spurious Masonic Rituals then current in London, and it is exactly what we might expect from Swift, even if the allusion to the Drapier at the close did not settle the matter. The piece was printed in Faulkner's twenty volume edition of Swift's Works (1760-9), but was omitted by Sir Walter Scott and subsequent editors.²

To return to Swift's English correspondence. His London friends, men and women, statesmen and great ladies, poets and dukes, grave and gay, were always eager to hear from him; and he liked to learn from them what was doing in the great world from which he was banished. The list is a long one; Bolingbroke and Oxford; Pope, Gay, Addison, and Atterbury; Arbuthnot and Barber; the Duke of Dorset; Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, Lord Peterborough; Patty Blount and the Duchess of Queensberry; Lady Betty Germaine and Mrs. Howard; the Duchess of Ormond and Lady Masham, are among those who wrote to him and kept him in touch with the movements of literary criticism and high politics as well as with the gossip of London society.

With such a variety of correspondents, it is natural to expect variety of style. Every great letter-writer exhibits this, more or less; for the style of a good letter should correspond to the capacity and the interests of the receiver. One does not write to a child in the language which would be appropriate in addressing an Archbishop, nor does the "grand style" befit an intimate correspondence with a

¹ "Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations," by H. Sadler (1898), with Introduction by W. J. Chetwode Crawley.

² See Crawley, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

friend. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in Swift's letters, apart from that extraordinary instinct for using the right word—an instinct which never fails him—is this adaptation of style to the occasion. His letters to King on matters of ecclesiastical policy are dignified; those to Bolingbroke catch a little of the pedantry of that self-sufficient person; those to Pope are elegant and polished; those to Arbuthnot reflect the charm of Arbuthnot's character; while those to his admiring lady friends never lack a hint of that superiority which he always felt, or affected, in the presence of women. Sad it is that his letters to Sheridan in like fashion fall in with the low humour which was congenial to his friend.

"My solitary way of life is apt to make me talkative on paper," he wrote, late in life;¹ and his conversation, whether oral or written, took its form and colour from the habits and tastes of his associates for the time being. Delany says, indeed, in his "Observations" that Swift generally wrote with the public in view: "I verily believe there are few things he ever wrote that he did not wish to be published at one time or another." An examination of his whole correspondence will not, I think, sustain that opinion. The letter-writing of the age was formal and artificial; and of some of Swift's friends, notably of Pope, what Delany has suggested of Swift may very well be true. Indeed, the anxiety of Pope to secure publicity for his letters to his Irish friend is obvious, and is not very creditable to him. His insatiable vanity was not content with Swift's repeated assurances that his elaborate epistles were docketed and in safe keeping;² and the means by which he brought about their publication at last were little short of dishonourable. The matter has been fully discussed by Mr. Elwin³ and need not be re-examined here. But Swift, whatever his faults, was not vain; and few authors have been

¹ To Rev. Henry Jenny, 8 June, 1732.

² See *e.g.*, Swift to Pope, 22 April, 1736.

³ Pope's "Works," vol. i, p. lxxxiii *et seq.*

so careless of their literary reputation as he. "I believe my letters have escaped being published," he told Pope,¹ "because I writ nothing but nature and friendship, and particular incidents which could make no figure in writing," and he contrasts his correspondence with that of Cicero and of Pliny, who wrote for the public and not merely for their friends.²

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this avowal; but it does not mean that Swift wrote hastily or without care. The "Journal to Stella" stands by itself; it is the most private of private documents, which perhaps ought never to have been given to the world, although one cannot be sorry that it was preserved. Yet even in the "Journal," Swift chooses his phrases and turns his sentences like the consummate master of English that he was. His letters again, to Archdeacon Walls, his trusted agent, are frankly on business, and are not elaborated with any *arrière pensée* of their ultimate appearance in print. But they do not betray any negligent carelessness of form. Or, once more, the paltry correspondence with Sheridan, full of absurd conceits and that "raillery" in which a later age finds it difficult to discern anything amusing, must have cost him considerable pains. Sheridan says in one place³ that his letter to Swift took him a week to concoct; and Swift's letters to him are by no means unstudied. The fact is that while Swift did not write for publication in the ordinary sense, he was conscious that his letters were handed about—notably the long epistles to Bolingbroke and Pope and Arbuthnot—and he was far too good an artist, and too sensitive to the meaning of words, to set down even trivialities upon paper without deliberation.

It may be said that felicity of phrase, and facility of composition are the badge of all great writing; and that Swift wrote well by a kind of unstudied instinct born of

¹ 21 October, 1735.

² Letters "cease to be letters," he wrote to Pope at an earlier time (26 February, 1730), "when they become a *jeu d'esprit*."

³ 21 November, 1736.

sheer genius. But a distinction must be drawn here. "Easy writing," some one has said, "makes hard reading"; and that is often the case. There are some great writers, like Pope, who can write quickly and without effort. But there are others, not less great, whose art has concealed their art. The form of the sentence seems inevitable, once it has been set down; but the form is, nevertheless, due to a deliberate volition and choice on the part of the author. Such was the case, I venture to think, with Stevenson, to take a modern example; and such was the method of Swift, as it appears at least to one student of his letters,¹ and as indeed he has told us in regard to his verses: "I alter them a hundred times, and yet I do not believe myself to be a laborious dry writer."²

In Swift's case there was, perhaps, another cause which would incline him to write with care, and that was his consciousness of his own position as a master of prose. He knew that he was a master, and he loved to use his powers to the full. Writing when a young man to Thomas Swift (3 May, 1692), he confesses that he has a high opinion of his own verses: "I am overfond of my own writings; I would not have the world think so, for a million, but it is so, and I find when I write what pleases me I am Cowley to myself and can read it a hundred times." And as years went on, it was inevitable that he should realize the greatness of his literary gifts. He had played a larger part in public life than some of his friends quite understood; his pen had produced extraordinary effects; and when writing to men of the great world, of politics or of literature, he knew that what he wrote would be judged by the standard of his own published writings. Not because he desired to see his letters in print; but because he would not disap-

¹ Mr. Ball has pointed out the remarkable differences between the original drafts of two of Swift's letters (24 March, 1709, and 10 October, 1710), now preserved in the British Museum, and the autograph letters actually sent to his correspondents. They show the studied care with which he chose his words and turned his phrases.

² 3 May, 1692.

point the friends who honoured him, he gave them of his best. And this accounts, in part, for the remarkable difference in literary quality between his letters to men like King, and Arbuthnot and Bolingbroke, and women like Lady Betty Germaine, and his letters to Chetwode and Sheridan and other Irish intimates who hardly understood the position which he occupied in the literary world. Indeed, to the end, Swift's reputation in Ireland rested rather on his zealous championship of Irish interests than on his eminence as a man of letters. It was as the Drapier that he was honoured in Dublin rather than as the author of "Gulliver" or of the "Tale of a Tub"; and he was fully aware of it.

This leads us to notice the strange aloofness of his attitude to all things Irish, champion of Irish liberty though he was and rejoiced to be. He never identified himself with his fellow countrymen in his heart. His relations to his own University, to Trinity College, seem to illustrate well this alienation of spirit, which was quite compatible with a true admiration. Some of his most intimate Irish friends, such as Delany and Stopford, were Fellows of Trinity, and he must have known from them of all that went on in academic circles. But he rarely mentions the University in his letters, and when he does speak of it, there is no hint in his tone that he is speaking of his own *Alma Mater*. A very sensible letter to the Duke of Dorset, then Lord Lieutenant,¹ was written at the request of some members of the College to prevent one of the Fellows from continuing to hold his Fellowship after he had accepted a valuable benefice thirty miles from Dublin; and Swift's intervention was successful. An earlier letter² to Lord Carteret was, however, written in direct opposition to the academic authorities. It appears that the College had represented to the Lord Lieutenant the desirability of confining certain Professorial chairs in the University to the Fellows. "I hope," writes the Dean, "your Excellency

¹ 14 January, 1735.

² 18 January, 1728.

will show no regard to so narrow and partial an opinion, which can only tend to mend fellowships and spoil professorships; although I should be sorry that any fellow should be thought incapable on that account, when otherwise qualified." And he urges that such a restriction as the College had proposed would be contrary to the practice "of all the Universities in Europe." The subsequent academic history of Trinity College explains sufficiently how ungracious and even disloyal to his own College Swift's advice to Lord Carteret must have seemed to his contemporaries. He, naturally, took a wider view than was possible to men of somewhat narrow experience, enmeshed from their youth in the net of academic tradition; but that did not make his action any the more palatable in Dublin. In short, Swift was very well disposed to the College, but he thought for himself on academic questions, and such independence of judgement is not generally acceptable to a conservative society of scholars.

He was always opposed to the Provost, Dr. Baldwin, a blatant and aggressive person, whose Whiggism was as offensive to Swift as his moral character was scandalous. This may be the explanation of the circumstance that Trinity College was one of the few public institutions in Ireland which made no effort to honour itself by honouring Dean Swift. There is no indication that he was ever popular within its walls until after his death. The striking bust of Swift, by Roubiliac, which now occupies an honoured place in the College Library, was the gift of admiring undergraduates who coupled his name with Berkeley's in the well-intentioned verses that they proposed as an inscription.¹ But outside the circle of his own friends there is no evidence of his popularity in the College during his years of power and fame.

The constant talk about preferment, in the Church as well as in the State, is a feature of Swift's correspondence, as it probably was of his conversation, which displeases modern

¹ See "Prose Works," xii, 47.

taste. But it has to be remembered that such was the custom of the day. Ecclesiastics spoke much more openly in the eighteenth century than they do in the twentieth of their desire for advancement. It may be that they were more worldly-minded than their successors; but it would be perhaps unjust to regard this as a sufficient explanation of their apparent eagerness to grasp at preferment, and of their tendency to measure the desirability of an ecclesiastical office solely by the annual income attached to it. Patronage was distributed in those days much more frankly on grounds of private interest or friendship than it is now; and statesmen took a very low view of their duty to the Established Church in respect of the persons whom they selected for high office. Merit was little likely to meet with any appropriate reward, unless the ear of the minister in power could be reached by some powerful friend. If a man did not ask for preferment, it was taken for granted that he did not desire it. Thus much may be said in deprecation of too severe a judgement upon the ecclesiastics among whom Swift lived, and for whom he wrote many letters of recommendation. He did not scruple, indeed, in the days of Queen Anne to press his own claims upon his political friends. But his pride forbade any servile application for help, and he never asked, I think, for anything personal during the last thirty years of his life. He was all the more urgent in pressing upon those who had the disposal of patronage the claims of his friends. Swift's altruism was very strong, and his love of power and of exhibiting his influence with the great, combined with his pity for those who had not been successful in the battle of life, led him sometimes too far. In truth, he was over fond of interfering in the distribution of Church offices, and was not always cautious enough in his recommendations, as, for instance, in the case of the Rev. Matthew Pilkington, a very poor creature, whom he persuaded Lord Mayor Barber to take as his chaplain.¹ A characteristic sentence in one of

¹ See Bolingbroke to Swift, 12 April, 1734.

these letters (to the Duke of Dorset¹) is as follows: "Your Grace is now disposing of the *débris* of two bishoprics, among which is the deanery of Ferns, worth between £80 and £100 a year, which will make Mr. Jackson easier, who besides his other good qualities, is as loyal as you could wish." The *débris* of two bishoprics! The phrase throws a lurid light upon the ecclesiastical practices of the day.

Another delightful specimen of a letter of recommendation was addressed to the same correspondent, who was then Lord Lieutenant, earlier in the year.² It is in favour of "one Alderman Aldrich, who is Master of the Dublin Barrack and is as high a Whig and more at your devotion than I could perhaps wish him to be. And yet he is a very honest gentleman, and what is more important a near relation of the Grattans, who in your Grace's absence are governors of all Ireland and your vicegerents when you are here, as I have often told you. They consist of an Alderman whom you are to find Lord Mayor at Michaelmas next; of a doctor who kills or cures half the city; of two parsons, my subjects as prebendaries, who rule the other half, and of a vagrant brother who governs the North." And he adds that "these Grattans will stickle to death for all their cousins to the five and fiftieth degree"; and that if his request "be not granted the Grattans will rise in rebellion, which I tremble to think of."

Another topic on which Swift loved to descant, in letters to friends, was money. He never forgot his days of poverty, and money had a large share in his thoughts. His jests with Sheridan are often about money and the way to spend it; and he is almost reconciled to living in Ireland by the cheapness of everything. "To live in England half as tolerably as I do here would ruin me. I must have two servants and three horses, and dare drink nothing but wine."³ But his carefulness about money was not avarice,

¹ 30 December, 1735.

² 15 April, 1735.

³ Swift to Mrs. Caesar, 30 July, 1733; see also his letter to Arbuthnot, October, 1734.

at any rate, in earlier years. He was a generous man, as all his contemporaries knew, despite his little artifices for saving a sixpence. It was rather because of these that he was able to give away so much. Money was much in his thoughts because he valued the power for doing good which it confers on its possessor; and the repeated references in the correspondence¹ to his intention, afterwards carried into effect, to endow a madhouse with his savings, pathetically indicate his anxiety to bequeath his money so that it might be of permanent service to the city, whose most prominent citizen he had been for many years.

It is disappointing to find comparatively few references in Swift's correspondence to literature or literary criticism. His judgements on books would have been interesting; but there is much less of books than of men in his letters. With the exception of the "Tale of a Tub" and of "Gulliver" (if, indeed, they are exceptions), his own publications were for the most part political pamphlets, small or large; and it is safe to say that statecraft occupied a larger share of his thoughts than literature. Yet he read much, and of the best, and spent considerable sums for a man of his limited income upon books.² The Church Fathers, ancient medicine, the classics—he read them all, although his principal study was history. His copy of Plato seems to have been among the most highly prized treasures of his library—a partiality probably to be accounted for by the political speculations and political philosophy of Plato, which would naturally attract so keen an observer of human nature. He writes to Gay³ that he finds Berkeley's "Minute Philosopher," then just published, "too speculative," a verdict which does not surprise

¹ See Letters of 9 September, 1732, 7 April, 1733, 20 February, 11 and 22 April, and 17 July, 1735.

² The best and most interesting account of Swift's library is by Mr. T. P. Le Fanu: "Dean Swift's Library" ("Proc. Roy. Soc. Antiq., Ireland," July, 1896, p. 113). Many references to his book-buying habits will be found in the Journal to Stella.

³ 4 May, 1732.

us. Swift had no inclination to metaphysics. He rarely quotes English writers,¹ although he relished a good tag from Horace or Virgil, as did all his literary friends.²

An interesting letter³ to Benjamin Motte, the publisher, with reference to an illustrated edition of "Gulliver's Travels," has not hitherto been included in collections of Swift's correspondence. It indicates the subjects which the author thought most suitable for illustration, and it might be worth while for some enterprising publisher to adopt, thus tardily, Swift's suggestions. No worthy and fully annotated edition of Gulliver is in print;⁴ and it would be of real interest to illustrate the text with pictures such as Swift desired. "The world glutted itself with that book at first, and now it will go off but soberly," he writes; "but I suppose it will not be soon worn out." Swift knew the value of his own work.

He mentions a curious circumstance when writing to Pope the next year.⁵ "I send you a very odd thing, a paper printed in Boston, in New England, wherein you will find a real person, a member of their parliament, of the name of *Jonathan Gulliver*." As the "Travels" had not

¹ Scott goes so far as to say ("Memoirs," ed. Cadell, p. 416) that Swift never quotes Shakespeare. But this is a mistake, as Monck Mason had no difficulty in showing ("Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 428 *n.*). Allusions to Shakespeare will be found in the letters of 20 April, 1704, 17 May, 1718, 20 November, 1729; *cf.* also 8 January, 1712, in the Journal to Stella. Yet it is a curious circumstance that, as Mr. Le Fanu points out (*loc. cit.*, p. 119), Swift did not possess a copy of Shakespeare, or at least that there is no mention of one in the catalogue of his library.

² Swift had a good working knowledge of French. A letter to Vanessa in that language is extant (12 May, 1719), and also one to M. Giraldi (25 February, 1715). An admirably turned letter in French to the Abbé des Fontaines, in regard to the translation by the Abbé of "Gulliver's Travels," is well known, having been printed by Scott (1727).

³ 28 December, 1727.

⁴ Mr. Saintsbury's beautiful edition is adapted to the needs of the ordinary reader rather than of the critical student of Swift.

⁵ 23 March, 1728.

then been published more than eighteen months, and the authorship was not at first known with certainty, it is impossible that this could have been anything more than a chance coincidence of names. But it was remarkable enough.

Some years ago a somewhat similar coincidence was noted by Dr. Edward Scott in the "Athenaeum."¹ He found in the muniment room of Westminster Abbey a bundle of lawpapers, being the proceedings in actions brought by one *Lemuel Gulliver*, of Westminster, against a certain *Peter Swift* of Longdon, in Worcestershire, between 1733 and 1741. Mr. G. A. Aitken thought that here might be found the origin of the title of the famous romance, a suggestion which seemed to the present writer so plausible that it was adopted in an article written in 1906.² But it has since been pointed out³ that in these law proceedings Lemuel Gulliver was only a man of straw, introduced by a well-known legal fiction; and that such imaginary intermediaries in law were often given names current or popular at the time, such as Robinson Crusoe. No conclusion, then, is to be drawn from Dr. Scott's interesting discovery as to the influences which persuaded Swift to adopt this queer name for his hero, any more than we can infer any sudden popularity of Swift's work in the United States from the name of the American senator, Jonathan Gulliver.

But more significant for the understanding of Swift than such matters is his own comment on Gulliver, then nearing publication, in a letter to Pope.⁴ "I have ever hated all nations, professions and communities, and all my love is towards individuals; for instance I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Counsellor such-a-one and Judge such-a-one . . . principally I hate and detest that animal called

¹ November, 1905.

² In "Blackwood's Magazine" for November, 1906, "Dean Swift in Dublin."

³ By Mr. J. P. Gilson in his interesting prefatory note to Gulliver (ed. Routledge, 1906).

⁴ 29 September, 1725.

man; although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. . . . Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, . . . the whole building of my travels is erected." "Misanthropy," he calls it, but it was the misanthropy of the head rather than of the heart. Swift's long experience of public life had taught him to distrust—to hate, as he says—all mankind.¹ Yet he was deeply attached to his friends, and his friends to him. The man whom Stella loved, and the poor who lived in his neighbourhood adored, was not a misanthrope in the ordinary acceptation of the word. It would be as unfair to dismiss Swift with such a title, as it would be to call Thackeray a cynic because he took delight in exposing the weaknesses of poor humanity. Swift was, above all, a *disappointed* man; disappointed with himself and his fortunes, as well as with human nature. But his *sæva indignatio* was tempered in daily life by a compassionate affection for those whom he admitted to his friendship or his bounty. In his portraits, and even more clearly in the contemporary busts which are extant, the contrast between the fierce eyes, with their rugged brows, and the tender, kindly mouth, is unmistakable. The swollen eyeballs belong to the man who said that he hated mankind; but the mouth is his who "heartily loved" John, Peter, and Thomas.

Would Swift's *sæva indignatio* have been so fierce had he realized his ambitions? Was his "misanthropy" natural to him, or was it the outcome of what he regarded as his misfortunes? It is not possible to answer such questions with

¹ The witty judgement passed on "Gulliver" by Young, the author of the "Night Thoughts" is not very profound, nor is it quite fair, but it may be worth while to cite it afresh, as Young's writings have out-lived their popularity and few now read them: "If his favourite Houyhnhnms could write, and Swift had been one of them, every horse with him would have been an ass, and he would have written a panegyric on mankind, saddling with much reproach the present heroes of his pen: on the contrary, being born amongst men, and, of consequence, piqued by many and peevish at more, he has blasphemed a nature little lower than that of angels, and assumed by far higher than they. But surely the contempt of the world is not a greater virtue than the contempt of mankind is a vice" ("Conjectures on Original Composition").

confidence; but perhaps Bolingbroke's reply to the outburst last quoted from Swift expresses the truth. "If you despised the world," wrote this keen observer,¹ "as much as you pretend and perhaps believe, you would not be so angry with it." It was because he did not really despise the world that his ill-success in his effort to secure a high place in it galled him so sorely.

"Discontent," that is a truer description of his attitude to life than "cynicism." "I never wake," so he wrote to Bolingbroke,² "without finding life a more insignificant thing than it was the day before, which is one great advantage I get by living in this country where there is nothing I shall be sorry to lose." Indeed, he hated Ireland, and never ceased to bewail—not always in the most dignified fashion—the hard fate which condemned him to live there. "You think," so he wrote to Bolingbroke,³ "as I ought to think, that it is time for me to have done with the world; and so I would, if I could get into a better before I was called into the best, and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole."⁴ He was not so angry with fortune a few years earlier, although already discontented. "Nothing has convinced me so much that I am of a little subaltern spirit, *inopis atque pusilli animi*, as to reflect how I am forced into the most trifling amusements, to divert the vexation of former thoughts and present objects."⁵ His active, eager spirit could not endure inaction. In one of the earliest of his letters he lets us into the secret of his sorrowful old age: "Myself was never very miserable while my thoughts were in a ferment, for I imagine a dead calm to be the troublesomest part of our voyage through the world."⁶ There is the man revealed.

¹ 14 December, 1725.

² 5 April, 1729.

³ 21 March, 1730.

⁴ This is quoted as "Dr. Swift's Complaint" in a letter from Shennstone to a friend written in 1741, showing that Swift's letters were handed about (see p. xxxiv, *supra*).

⁵ Swift to Bolingbroke, 19 December, 1719.

⁶ 6 December, 1693.

And so, as years go on, his life becomes hateful to him. What are we to say of a man who makes a habit of reading the third chapter of Job on his birthday, that he may curse the day when he was born?¹ This was, indeed, when the shadows were closing round, and he began to realize that he was losing command of his reasoning powers. But even before this came on him he was a sorrowful man; and the fantastic description of human life in his letter to Deane Swift (October, 1735) gives, without doubt, a true picture of himself, as he appeared to himself.

Swift's arrogance and violent temper made his lot harder, but some of the letters written in angry moods are not easy to excuse. Such is the letter to Bishop Stearne,² the tone of which is in marked contrast to the quiet and conciliatory terms of the Bishop's reply. Such are the letters to Lord Palmerston,³ in which Swift is not only in the wrong, but becomes insolent and ill-mannered when this is pointed out to him. Bolingbroke was right. If Swift had despised the opinion of his fellows so whole-heartedly as he would have us believe, he would not have been so apt to get angry with them.

Perhaps it was disappointed pride that lay behind his choice of men so much his intellectual inferiors as his constant associates and correspondents in Ireland. It was not always so. "I love good creditable acquaintance" (so he wrote to Stella, 17 May, 1711), "I love to be the worst of the company: I am not of those that say 'For want of company, welcome trumpery.'" Yet it came to this, as time went on. Some friends he had, indeed, whose company would have been good enough for any one. "There are at least six or eight gentlemen of sense, learning, good humour and taste, able and desirous to please you," is one of the inducements by which he tries to persuade Pope to visit him in Dublin.⁴ Mrs. Pendarves, afterwards Mrs. Delany, was a very competent judge of good talk, and she says of this circle of friends: "I recollect no entertainment

¹ Swift to Mrs. Whiteway, 27 November, 1738.

² July, 1733.

³ January, 1726.

⁴ 8 July, 1733.

with so much pleasure as what I received from that company; it has made me very sincerely lament the many hours of my life that I have lost in insignificant conversation."¹ But of these friends (among whom Dr. Delany, Dr. Helsham, and the Grattans were prominent) none was so intimate with the Dean as the shiftless, amiable, laughter-loving Thomas Sheridan.

Sheridan was admitted to the secrets of Swift's life as perhaps no other man was, his easy temper and his unbounded admiration for the Dean making it easier for him than for others to endure the insolent arrogance with which Swift treated his Dublin friends. As life went on, Swift found it more and more difficult to associate with any who crossed his will, or who expected him to restrain his temper in their presence. And his attitude to the clergy who were his neighbours was to the end one of contemptuous or compassionate superiority. "After all," so he confided to Bolingbroke about a year after he was established in his Deanery,² "parsons are not such bad company, *especially when they are under subjection*, and I let none but such come near me." It is no wonder that few letters to or from his Chapter are extant, or that he found himself at last with but few friends of an intimate sort.

His correspondence with Sheridan is melancholy reading. No doubt it was never intended for publication; and the jests and gibes and conceits, which he pours out upon paper, were mere playfulness. But Swift at play is not an attractive figure. The humour of the Anglo-Latin letters is not of a high order, and these exercises of perverted ingenuity might, with advantage to Swift's reputation, have been consigned to the waste paper basket. Nor can it be pleaded in excuse that they were but the relaxations of an old man, whose brain was not as powerful as in youth.³ We have an Anglo-Latin letter to Sheridan as

¹ 24 October, 1733.

² 14 September, 1714.

³ See Appendix II to this volume, in which Mr. Ball has given full illustration of Swift's inveterate and lifelong habit of "punning."

early as 12 October, 1723, when the great intellect was in its prime, although such *ineptiae* are more frequent in later years,¹ as his mania for puns and quips grew. It is, indeed, not always easy for one generation to appreciate the humour of another. Fashions change in wit, as in other things; and it is possible that Swift might find it as hard to laugh at some of our modern jests, as we to laugh at what seemed to him and to Sheridan to be exceedingly funny. But the wonder of it is that the author of this poor stuff was also the author of "Gulliver."

A graver matter is the coarseness of much of Swift's correspondence. His jokes, set down with pen and ink in letters to intimates, Walls, Sheridan, and others, are apt to be dirty. And not only in letters to men, but even in the *Journal to Stella* there are nasty jests which (one would think) a decent man of any period would have disdained to make, at any rate in writing to a woman whom he sincerely honoured.² Again, we must make allowance for the manners of the age. People were more outspoken then than now, and Swift's niece, Mrs. Whiteway, is not ashamed to allude³ to two of the Dean's poems which are abominably foul. But the nastiness of Swift was exceptional, even for the eighteenth century. Laurence Sterne was not a man of clean mind, and he goes pretty far; but he defends himself against the charge of indecency thus: "I promise to be cautious; but deny I have gone as far as Swift: he keeps a due distance from Rabelais; I keep a due distance from him. Swift has said a hundred things I durst not say, unless I was Dean of St. Patrick's."⁴

Yet there is this significant difference between Sterne

¹ Orrery fell in with this humour of the Dean's, and we have a letter from him to Swift written backwards, 18 July, 1735.

² I refrain from giving references, although a recent writer has ventured to say that in the *Journal* there is "nothing which a writer of the ultra-refined twentieth century might not have written to a friend" ("Dean Swift" by S. S. Smith, p. 185).

³ 2 December, 1735.

⁴ "Works" (ed. Browne, 1873), iv, 336.

and Swift. Swift is frequently coarse, dirty, even obscene; but he is never licentious or wantonly suggestive, as Sterne too often is. Sterne may not be as plainspoken as Swift, but his writings are more likely to pollute the mind and inflame the imagination. Swift's coarseness is repulsive, and it makes vice repulsive to the reader, which cannot be said of Sterne. We can thus explain, what at first puzzles us, the tone of shocked propriety in which Swift tells Stella¹ of a letter he had received from Miss Ann Long, which "has quite turned my stomach against her; no less than two nasty jests in it, with dashes to suppose them. She is corrupted in that vile town (King's Lynn) with vile conversation." The distinction between the nastiness of the jests, of which Swift disapproved, and the nastiness of those which appear in his correspondence, and with which presumably his conversation was garnished, may seem to some inappreciable; but, in fact, Swift never encouraged talk that was licentious, as distinct from coarse, and he prided himself on his austere attitude in regard to it. "Mr. Secretary had too much company with him to-day; so I came away soon after dinner. I give no man liberty to swear or talk bawdy, and I found some of them were in constraint, so I left them to themselves."² His unhappy tendency to dwell in thought and in speech on the bestial side of human nature was not improbably due to a diseased imagination, which was the consequence of the physical infirmities that wrecked his life. It was also, in part, inspired by his hatred of shams and his contempt for the weakness, as he deemed it, which would feign ignorance of all that is ugly and base; his pride in being candid and open led him to outrage the feelings even of the plain-speaking society in which he lived. But he never wrote a line which would encourage vice. And this must suffice for a very unpleasant subject.

Swift had nothing, said his friend Dr. Delany,³ "in the

¹ 11 December, 1710.

² Journal to Stella, 20 May, 1711.

³ "Observations," p. 120.

least degree hypocritical or affected in him, unless the affectation of disclaiming all the appearance of piety, for fear of bringing its reality into question." This is the testimony of one who knew him well, and it supplies an answer to the doubts which suggest themselves when the claim is made for Swift that he was a man of religious conviction. He was a "hypocrite inverted." His was, as it has been expressed, the "Pharisaism of the publican," that is, he habitually concealed his better self from the world, and, so far as he could, from his friends. The story that Delany tells¹ of Swift hiding from his guests at the Deanery, that his habit was to read family prayers every night for his servants, discloses a side of Swift's character to which sufficient attention has not always been paid.

It is, indeed, lamentably true that nothing was sacred from his satire. The "Tale of a Tub," perhaps the greatest monument of his genius, contains many things which no man of reverent mind could have brought himself to write. And his verses "On the Day of Judgment" provide material for an even graver indictment. For in these verses Swift seems to ridicule as unworthy of credit so widespread and fundamental a belief as that of the future judgement of mankind. This is to go much further than the "Tale of a Tub." In that work he lashes with his satire what he takes to be the corruptions and superstitions of modern Christianity. The extravagant tenets, as he regards them, of the Calvinists are ridiculed no less heartily than the dogmas and practices of the Church of Rome, with which he had no sympathy, and of which he wrote with a scornful contempt. But he claimed to have attacked nothing which a member of the Church of England held dear. Martin, who represents Anglican Christianity in his parable, is drawn with a gentler hand than Peter or Jack, although he does not entirely escape caricature. Indeed the "History of Martin" did not appear in any of the "authorized" editions of the work. And Swift's

¹ "Observations," p. 30.

apology for his book expressed surprise that any Anglican should have found fault with it. "Why should any clergyman of our Church be angry to see the follies of fanaticism and superstition exposed, though in the most ridiculous manner; since that is perhaps the most probable way to cure them, or at least to hinder them from farther spreading? Besides, though it was not intended for their perusal, it rallies nothing but what they preach against. . . . It celebrates the Church of England as the most perfect of all others, in discipline and doctrine; it advances no opinion they reject, nor condemns any they receive."¹

It is an able defence, but it has never entirely satisfied the readers of the "Tale." Ordinary men and women feel that they cannot jest in Swift's fashion about the most sacred things of religion. They would fear to do so; and such jesting would for them imply disbelief in the Christian revelation as a whole. Yet I think it would not be legitimate to draw this inference in Swift's case, although the fact that it was drawn by some of his contemporaries hindered his advancement to the highest offices in the Church. Theological controversy—and the "Tale" is a controversial pamphlet of a peculiarly bitter sort—has rarely been conducted with entire reverence for the feelings of those whose tenets are attacked. Reverence is not a plant that grows in the soil of theological disputation. Swift's language about the tenets of the Church of Rome is hardly more indecent than that of the more violent of the English reformers in the sixteenth century; and it would not be just, either to him or to them, to conclude that the mockery which is poured out in their writings upon doctrines and practices which they disapproved implied that they were sceptical of the Christian revelation as they understood it.

Swift was, indeed, deeply impressed by the contrast between the Christian religion as first promulgated and as expressed in practice in his own day. It was not an age of faith. The tenets of the Deists had attracted many, and

¹ "Prose Works," i, 13.

had infected the writings of more than one Anglican divine. He saw with clear vision that a barren Deism was inconsistent with any form of historical Christianity, and it should be remembered to his credit that his answers to Tindal and Collins were of real service to religion. His methods of controversy were very unlike those of his great contemporary, Bishop Butler (whom he does not seem to have read); but they were remarkably efficacious. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity in these tracts, and his description of the "Sentiments of a Church of England Man" may be taken to represent his own convictions. "Whoever professes himself a member of the Church of England ought to believe a God and his providence, together with revealed religion and the divinity of Christ."¹ Less than this he considered incompatible with honest adhesion to the Church.

That he occupied himself to any large extent with theological speculation is quite improbable. He was, indeed, acquainted with the writings of the great Christian theologians; Cyprian, Tertullian, Aquinas, Calvin, Baronius are among the authors who had a place in his library.² But Swift did not believe, as it would seem, that the human intellect was equal to the solution of the great problems which inevitably present themselves to the attention of a Christian thinker. "Pestilent books," he says, are written against the doctrine of the Trinity; but the authors are presumptuous, the truth being that "there is some kind of unity and distinction in the Divine nature which mankind cannot possibly comprehend."³ "Thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious or too narrow in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties and distinctions with little warrant from Scripture and less from reason or

¹ "Prose Works," iii, 54.

² "We ought not," he writes, "to make a man a bishop who does not love divinity" ("Journal," 3 July, 1711).

³ "Prose Works," iv, 136.

good policy.”¹ It was because of this conviction that God is “really greater than man,” as William Law has it, that Swift shows himself greater than his Deistical opponents, whose rationalism was narrow and over confident. His attitude towards many serious questions was that which a later age would have called “Agnostic”; but in regard to what he believed to be fundamentals he was quite sincere. And this his friends believed him to be. There is extant an interesting letter to him by Bolingbroke,² written in answer to a remonstrance which Swift had addressed to him for his “freethinking.” Bolingbroke is at pains to defend himself in a fashion which shows that he believed Swift to be seriously concerned.

An even more striking indication of his friends’ confidence in Swift’s religious sincerity may be found in the *Journal to Stella*. When Sir Andrew Fountaine fell ill in London and was in danger of death, the man whose spiritual ministrations he asked for was Dr. Swift. He “has been very ill this week; and sent to me early this morning to have prayers, which you know is the last thing.”³ And Swift regularly attended him, reading prayers for him on Sundays as he became convalescent.⁴ So, again, on Sunday 6 January, 1712, he writes: “I read prayers to poor Mrs. Wesley, who is very much out of order, instead of going to church.” Men and women do not seek such services from friends, however brilliant or delightful in company, unless they are convinced of their sincerity. And the prayers, still extant, which Swift wrote to be used in the last illness of Stella, show the kind of ministration which the grim satirist could offer at such moments. He was reticent about his deepest thoughts, and his correspondence hardly discloses this side of his character. Yet the gratification which his friends derived from his letters when they were in sorrow—there is, for instance, a beautiful letter to Lord Oxford on the death of his daughter—points to the same conclusion

¹ “Prose Works,” iii, 308.

² 12 September, 1724.

³ *Journal*, 29 December, 1710.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11 February, 1711.

as to the genuineness of Swift's religion, meagre and unsatisfying as some may think it to have been. "Some degree of wisdom is required in the greatest calamity because God requires it; because he knows what is best for us, because he never intended anything like perfect happiness in the present life; and because it is our duty as well as interest to submit."¹ That is not the whole of Christian philosophy; but it goes a good way, and his friends knew that he meant every word he said. "That hearty, sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce is what I am sure I can never find in another." So wrote Arbuthnot,² and his testimony is weighty, being that of a good man, as we have already had occasion to remark.

In the discharge of the public duties of his office, Swift was exemplary. This does not go so deep as his private ministrations, but it cannot be overlooked if we are to form a true picture of the man. He attended the services of his Cathedral with assiduity: "I go every day once to prayers," he tells Bolingbroke.³ He restored the weekly Eucharist at St. Patrick's in an age when such a rule, even in Cathedral churches, was very unusual; and an eye-witness has left a report of his demeanour when ministering the sacraments: "As the Communion is administered every Sunday in this antique Church . . . I was charmed to see with what a becoming piety the Dean performed that solemn service; which he had so much at heart that he wanted not the assistance of the liturgy, but went quite through it without ever looking in the Prayer Book. Indeed, another part of his behaviour on this occasion was censured by some as savouring of Popery, which was that he bowed to the Holy Table; however, this circumstance may vindicate him from the wicked aspersion of being deemed an unbeliever, since 'tis plain he had the utmost reverence for the Eucharist."⁴

¹ Swift to Mrs. Whiteway, 25 February, 1736.

² 12 August, 1714.

³ 14 September, 1714.

⁴ "Memoirs of Mrs. Pilkington" (1748), p. 52.

Of the Dean's sermons there is not much to be said. The style is direct and vigorous, as in all his writings; but the matter is dry enough in most of the extant discourses. "I never preached but twice in my life," he is reported to have said,¹ "and then they were not sermons but pamphlets," in allusion to the sermon on "Doing Good," which was called forth by Wood's coinage scheme. He preached oftener than that, but he had no liking for the pulpit, and it may be questioned if he was very effective as a preacher. "No, indeed," he writes to Stella from London,² "I put off preaching as much as I can. I am upon another foot," although he is careful to add, "Nobody doubts here whether I can preach, and you are fools." No one can doubt that he would at any time have drawn a large congregation to hear him, but that would have been because of his fame as a man of letters and a pamphleteer, who was accustomed to say without concealment what he thought. Most of his sermons which have survived were written with some direct philanthropic or political purpose; they concern themselves but little with questions of doctrine, and hardly at all with the specific message of the Christian Gospel.

As has been said already, his creed seems to have been a brief one, but deep-rooted. "I am not answerable to God," he writes in a grave passage of his "Thoughts on Religion,"³ "for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which He hath planted in me; if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life." The tendency of his "practical view" of Christianity was to place character and conduct before creed, while he would have counted it dishonest to profess anything which he did not believe.

He became, as time went on, a pessimist about the future of Christianity, even as he was a pessimist in his view of

¹ "Memoirs," *ut supra*, p. 56.

² Journal, 9 February, 1711.

³ "Prose Works," iii, 308.

the future of mankind. The "ignominious neglect"¹ of religion, which he found exemplified by the dearth of church accommodation in London,² as well as by the lives of the people, and which contemporary writers of every school—Berkeley and Butler no less than Swift—deplore, preyed upon a spirit that hated profession without practice. In a mournful letter to Charles Ford (hitherto unpublished)³ he pours out his wrath. "I have long given up all hopes of Church or Christianity. A certain author (I forget his name) hath writ a book (I wish I could see it) that the Christian religion will not last above three hundred and odd years. He means there will always be Christians as there are Jews; but it will be no longer a National Religion; and *there* is enough to justify the Scripture that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." This is expressed with something less than his usual precision—he is beginning to fail in his old age; but he evidently means that, while he has lost hope of Christianity continuing to be the established religion of the nation, he does not doubt that the Church will still survive as a witness for the truth.

The evidence of Swift's correspondence, taken as a whole, is thus, I believe, entirely in favour of his religious sincerity. His mind was not the mind of an ecclesiastic, still less of a mystic; but, so far as we may see, his inmost convictions were not inconsistent with the creed of the Church which he served to the best of his powers. He was a man in whom the imaginative powers were little developed in comparison with the ratiocinative; he distrusted imagination, "that forward delusive faculty," as heartily as did his great contemporary Butler; his attachment to religion seems to us, looking back from the standpoint of a later age, to have been rather of the head than of the heart. But

¹ "Prose Works," iii, 45.

² It should not be forgotten that it was due to his initiative that fifty new churches were built in London at this time for the needs of the growing population.

³ 22 June, 1736.

those who know a man best are the best judges of the secrets of his heart, and Swift's friends never questioned his sincerity in the exercise of his sacred calling. We may be content to accept their verdict.

J. H. BERNARD.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN SWIFT

I. [*Original.*¹]

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL

SIR,²

I WAS lately acquainted by Mr. Hanbury³ with the favour of your remembrance and enquiries after me and my family, by which we are all obliged, and return you all our wishes for your good health and good fortunes which way soever you turn them. This afternoon I hear, though by a common hand, that you are going over into Ireland, Secretary of State for that kingdom,⁴ upon which I venture

¹ This letter, which was formerly in the possession of Mr. John Young, of Vanbrugh Fields, Blackheath, is now in the Forster Collection, No. 560. It was first printed by Peter Cunningham in his edition of Johnson's "Lives of the English Poets."

² When this letter was written, Swift had been for a year a member of Sir William Temple's household. See Mr. Lecky's admirable outline of Temple's life, "Prose Works," i, xv.

³ Probably William Hanbury, of Little Marcle, in Herefordshire, who married a great-granddaughter of Sir Robert Cotton, and was sometime Keeper of the Cottonian Library. See "D. N. B.," xii, 314, and Duncumb's "Hist. of County of Hereford," continuation by the Rev. M. G. Watkins, p. 113. There are letters from Hanbury to Harley and Humphrey Wanley in the British Museum.

⁴ Sir Robert Southwell, whose descendant now holds the de Clifford barony, was Clerk of the Privy Council when Temple's scheme for its reconstruction was adopted, and had been previously employed as an envoy to Portugal and Flanders. He attained to some distinction as a diplomatist, as well as on five occasions to the presidency of the Royal Society, and was considered by his contemporaries, especially by the great Duke of Ormond, a man of singular discernment, prudence, and ability. Only for a delicate constitution Southwell would

to make you the offer of a servant, in case you may have occasion for such a one as this bearer. He was born and bred there, though of a good family in Herefordshire, was near seven years in the College of Dublin, and ready to take his degree of master of arts, when he was forced away by the desertion of that College upon the calamities of the country.¹ Since that time he has lived in my house, read to me, writ for me, and kept all accounts as far as my small occasions required. He has Latin and Greek, some French, writes a very good and current hand, is very honest and diligent, and has good friends, though they have for the present lost their fortunes, in Ireland, and his whole family having been long known to me obliged me thus far to take care of him.² If you please to accept him into your service, either as a gentleman to wait on you, or as clerk to write under you, and either to use him so if you like his service, or upon any establishment of the College to recommend him to a fellowship there, which he has a just pretence to, I shall acknowledge it as a great obligation to me, as well as to him,³

have made a greater figure in that age; in early life, although "cherry cheeked and blithe as could be," he was obliged to forgo his studies at Oxford under a physician's orders (Egmont Papers, Hist. MSS. Com.), and in later life he was often laid aside by illness. After the Revolution his knowledge of Ireland, with which he was connected by birth and as owner of Kinsale, then a most important port on its southern coast, led to his being consulted about its affairs, and to his being chosen by King William to accompany him on his Irish expedition as Secretary of State.

¹ In April, 1689, Swift would have completed seven years' residence in Trinity College, Dublin, and then would have been eligible for his degree of a master of arts. "The dangers of staying in the College seemed so great" that on 19 February of that year the Board agreed that "all those that thought fit to withdraw themselves from the College for their better security might have free liberty so to do"—a permission of which the majority of the Fellows quickly availed themselves (Stubbs' "Hist. of Univ. of Dublin," p. 129). According to Barrett's theory ("Essay," p. 13) Swift left Trinity College in January.

² It is evident from these words, as well as from Swift's autobiography ("Prose Works," xi, 377) that Swift relied for his introduction to Temple on a friendship between his father's family and the Temples, and not, as has often been stated, on a relationship which is said to have existed between his mother and Lady Temple.

³ This letter is stated to have reached Southwell (Forster's "Life," p. 58), but, so far as is known, did not serve its object in any degree. Southwell's stay in Ireland was confined to the period of stress that King William remained there, and the time had passed when Fellows could be forced on collegiate foundations.

and endeavour to deserve it by the constancy of my being always, Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,
W. TEMPLE.

Moor Park,¹ near Farnham, May 29, 1690.

Addressed—For Sir Robert Southwell.

II. [*Midland Counties Historical Collector*.²]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JOHN KENDALL

February 11, 1691-2.³

SIR,⁴

IF any thing made me wonder at your letter, it was your almost inviting me to do so in the beginning, which indeed grew less upon knowing the occasion, since it is what I have heard from more than one in and about Leicester; and for

¹ Moor Park had been known as More House before it was purchased by Temple, but it is thought that the name of Moor Park was given to the place by Temple in memory of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, whose beauties have been celebrated by him in his "Essay on Gardening" with all the fervour that the memory of a long honeymoon spent amongst them could excite ("Hist. of Surrey," Victoria Series, ii, 592). It has been said that Temple spelt the name of his Surrey home invariably *More*, but this letter proves that the statement is not well founded ("Sir W. Temple upon the Gardens of Epicurus," edited by A. F. Sieveking). For descriptions of the present condition of Temple's "Dutch paradise," see Sir Henry Craik's "Life," i, 27, and "Rambles by Patricius Walker," *Fraser's Mag.*, lxxvi, 638.

² Nichols says ("Hist. of Leicestershire," ii, 669) that towards the close of the eighteenth century the original was in the possession of Mr. John Kendall, of Thorpe Langton, in Leicestershire, a grandson of the clergyman to whom it was addressed, and that it was given by him to Charles Lloyd, the friend of Coleridge and Lamb. About fifty years ago it was presented by Mr. Thomas Macaulay, of Leicester, a kinsman of the Kendalls, to the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society (Letter of 20 July, 1855, in the Forster Collection).

³ It will be seen from the next letter that this one was dated at Moor Park. Swift had gone to Ireland in the summer of 1690, and had returned about August, 1691, to Leicester, where he stayed for some months with his mother. Thence, paying a visit to Oxford on his way, he came to Moor Park, where he arrived about Christmas.

⁴ The Rev. John Kendall was from 1691 to his death in 1717, Vicar of Thornton, a parish ten miles from Leicester. His wife was a

the friendship between us, as I suppose yours to be real, so I think it would be proper to imagine mine, until you find any cause to believe it pretended: though I might have some quarrel with you in three or four lines, which are very ill bestowed in complimenting me. And as to that of my great prospects of making my fortune, on which as your kindness only looks on the best side, so my own cold temper, and unconfined humour, is much greater hindrance than any fear of that which is the subject of your letter, I shall speak plainly to you, that the very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the University, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years; and even then myself I am so hard to please that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world.

How all this suits with my behaviour to the woman in hand¹ you may easily imagine, when you know that there is something in me which must be employed, and when I am alone turns all, for want of practice, into speculation and thought; insomuch that in these seven weeks I have been here, I have writ, and burnt and writ again, upon almost all manner of subjects, more perhaps than any man in England. And this is it which a person of great honour in Ireland (and who was pleased to stoop so low as to look into my mind), used to tell me, that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give

daughter of the Rev. Thomas Erick, who was Vicar of Frisby in the Wreke from 1663 to 1691. In one place Nichols says she was sister, and in another place niece of Swift's mother, but there is no doubt that the former was the relationship. The Kendall family had been long identified with Leicestershire, two of the name being amongst those slain at the battle of Bosworth Field, and the Rev. John Kendall's descent for several generations is given by Nichols. He had two sons, one of whom was sometime "gentleman" to the Earl of Clanricarde, and is mentioned by Swift in a letter to Sheridan of 20 July, 1736, as being then in the Irish revenue service (Nichols' "Hist. of Leicestershire," ii, 620; iii, 1, 259; iv, 983).

¹ In a letter to the Rev. J. Worrall, written many years later, Swift says that while staying with his mother after the Revolution, she was uneasy that a flirtation which he had with one Betty Jones—a cousin of her own—might have serious consequences, but that after he went to London the young woman married an innkeeper. "The woman in hand" seems to have been a substitute whom Swift found to amuse him during his stay at Leicester in the autumn of 1691.

it employment.¹ It is this humour that makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly end in talk, whether it be love, or common conversation, it is all alike. This is so common, that I could remember twenty women in my life, to whom I behaved myself just the same way; and I profess without any other design than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle, or when something goes amiss in my affairs. This I always have done as a man of the world, when I had no design for any thing grave in it, and what I thought at worst a harmless impertinence. But, whenever I begin to take sober resolutions, or, as now, to think of entering into the Church, I never found it would be hard to put off this kind of folly at the porch.²

Besides, perhaps, in so general a conversation among that sex, I might pretend a little to understand where I am when I go to choose for a wife; and though the cunningest sharper of the town may have a cheat put on him, yet it must be cleanlier carried on than this which you think I am going to top upon myself. And truly, if you knew how metaphysical I am that way, you would little fear I should venture on one who has given so much occasion to tongues; for, though the people is a lying sort of a beast, and I think in Leicester above all parts that I ever was in, yet they seldom talk without some glimpse of reason, which I declare, so unpardonably jealous I am, to be a sufficient cause for me [not] to have any woman any farther than a bare acquaintance, except all things else were agreeable and that I had mathematical demonstration for the falsehood of the first, which if it be not impossible, I am sure is very like it. Among all the young gentlemen that I have known to have ruined themselves by marrying which I assure you is a great number, I have made this general rule, that they are

¹ "The person of great honour" has been identified as Lord Berkeley, but as Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 26) on no grounds that are even plausible. There is no proof that Berkeley had ever been in Ireland before he came over in 1699 as a Lord Justice. Mr. Lecky thinks ("Prose Works," i, xv) that the remark of "a person of great honour" may have originated from a perception of Swift's talents.

² "Swift proved unable to keep the promise which doubtless he had made to himself as well as to his friend," says Scott ("Life," p. 51), "and it is probably a habit at first indulged merely from vanity or for the sake of amusement, that we are to trace the well-known circumstances which embittered his life and impaired his reputation."

either young, raw, and ignorant scholars, who, for want of knowing company, believe every silk petticoat includes an angel; or else they have been a sort of honest young men, who perhaps are too literal in rather marrying than burning, and to entail a misery on themselves and posterity, by an over-acting modesty. I think I am very far excluded from listing under either of these heads. I confess I have known one or two men of sense enough, who, inclined to frolics, have married and ruined themselves out of a maggot; but a thousand household thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am sure, fright me from that; besides that I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which usually produces those effects.¹

Your hints at particular stories I do not understand, and having never heard them but just hinted, I thought it proper to give you this, to show you how I thank you for your regard of me; and I hope my carriage will be so as my friends need not be ashamed of the name. I should not have behaved myself after the manner I did in Leicester, if I had not valued my own entertainment beyond the obloquy of a parcel of very wretched fools, which I solemnly pronounce the inhabitants of Leicester to be; and so I content myself with retaliation. I hope you will forgive this trouble; and so with my service to your good wife, I am, good cousin,

Your very friend and servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Revd. Mr. John Kendall, Vicar of Thornton, to be left at Mr. Birkhead's over against the Free School in Leicester.

III. [*The Athenian Gazette.*]

SWIFT TO THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY

Moor Park, *February* 14, 1691-2.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE every body pretends to trouble you with their follies, I thought I might claim the privilege of an English-

¹ As a writer in the "North British Review" (li, 327) remarks, the

man, and put in my share among the rest. Being last year in Ireland from whence I returned about half a year ago, I heard only a loose talk of your Society, and believed the design to be only some new folly just suitable to the age, which God knows I little expected ever to produce any thing extraordinary.¹ Since my being in England, having still continued in the country, and much out of company, I had but little advantage of knowing any more, till about two months ago, passing through Oxford, a very learned gentleman there first showed me two or three of your volumes, and gave me his account and opinion of you. A while after I came to this place, upon a visit to [Sir William Temple,]² where I have been ever since, and have seen all the four volumes with their supplements, which answering my expectation, the perusal has produced what you find enclosed.

As I have been somewhat inclined to this folly, so I have seldom wanted somebody to flatter me in it. As for the ode enclosed, I have sent it to a person of very great learning and honour, and since to some others, the best of my acquaintance, to which I thought very proper to inure it for a greater light; and they have all been pleased to tell me, that they are sure it will not be unwelcome, and that I should beg the honour of you to let it be printed before your next volume which I think is soon to be pub-

legends of early profligacy cannot stand against the unsuspecting witness of this confidential letter to a friend.

¹ The Athenian Society, which professed to possess universal learning, was a creation of the resourceful brain of John Dunton (see "Prose Works," *passim*), and existed for the purpose of answering questions sent to a journal which has been described as a prototype and progenitor of the present "Notes and Queries" (see "N. and Q.," I, v, 230; V, x, 61). The title-page describes this production as "The Athenian Gazette or Casuistical Mercury resolving all the most Nice and Curious Questions proposed by the Ingenious"; but "to oblige Authority," in the heading of each number "The Athenian Mercury" was adopted as the name. It made its first appearance on 17 March, 1690-1, and came to an end on 14 June, 1697. It dealt mainly with questions of natural philosophy, of casuistry, and of gallantry; and Dunton relied for assistance on the Rev. Samuel Wesley, to whom he was related, Richard Sault, and the Rev. John Norris, who are summed up by Dr. Johnson as "a knot of obscure men."

² Dunton mentions ("Life and Errors," Lond., 1818, p. 193) that Temple "honoured him with frequent letters and questions very curious and uncommon," but is careful not to give a clue to the subject of the correspondence.

lished, it being so usual before most books of any great value among poets; and before its seeing the world, I submit it wholly to the correction of your pens.¹

I entreat, therefore, one of you would descend so far, as to write two or three lines to me of your pleasure upon it, which, as I cannot but expect from gentlemen who have so well shown, upon so many occasions, that greatest character of scholars in being favourable to the ignorant, so, I am sure, nothing at present can more highly oblige me, or make me happier.² I am, Gentlemen,

Your ever most humble, and most admiring servant,
JONATHAN SWIFT.

IV. [*Orrery's Remarks.*]

SWIFT TO WILLIAM SWIFT

Moor Park, *November 29, 1692.*

SIR,

MY sister told me you was pleased (when she was here)³ to wonder I did so seldom write to you. I [hope you have] been so kind to impute it neither to ill-mann[ers or want of] respect. I always [have] thought that sufficient from one who has always been but too troublesome to you.⁴

¹ Dunton duly printed the ode ("Poetical Works") which he thought came from "a country gentleman." It was on seeing this ode that Dryden is said to have expressed the opinion that Swift would never be a poet. In the opinion of Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 45) it is inflated, disordered, and often impenetrably obscure.

² In binding himself to the wheels of such a crazy chariot Swift exhibits, as Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 44), that nervous distrust of himself which he always felt, and that whimsical judgement as to others by which he was often misled.

³ This reference to Swift's sister has been overlooked by some writers who have asserted that she was never at Moor Park. She was then in her twenty-seventh year. Her baptism is thus recorded in the register of St. Michan's Church, Dublin: "Jane dau. to Jonathan Swift and Abigail his wife bapt. 1 May 1666." The King's Inns, when Swift's father was the steward, stood on the site now occupied by the Four Courts, close to St. Michan's Church.

⁴ This letter is addressed to the fourth of Swift's paternal uncles ("Prose Works," xi, 375). All his grandfather's sons except Thomas, who took holy orders, adopted a legal profession. Godwin and Dryden were students of Gray's Inn, and the former was called in 1660 to the English bar, and, in 1663, to the Irish bar. The other

Besides, I knew your aversion to impertinence; and God knows so very private a life as mine can furnish a letter with little else, for I often am two or three months without seeing any body besides the family; and now my sister is gone, I am likely to be more solitary than before. I am still to thank you for your care in my *testimonium*;¹ and it was to very good purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the University of Oxford to me.² I had all the civilities I could wish for, and so many [showed

three were admitted solicitors in Ireland. Although Forster was ("Life," p. 28) under a different impression, Swift's uncle William, who was admitted a solicitor in Dublin on 25 November, 1661, appears to have been the first of his family to settle in Ireland, and was probably accompanied thither by Swift's father who, although not admitted a solicitor until 26 January, 1665-6, is said to have been connected with the King's Inns from the time of the Restoration. William Swift, who acquired considerable property, seems to have devoted himself with great assiduity to his profession, and held at the time of his death the office of a filizer in the Court of Common Pleas. It has been suggested that he was tinged with Jacobite ideas ("N. and Q.," II, iv, 124), but in one of the references relied upon he is confused with another William Swift, and his alleged friendship with Bishop Sheridan has no foundation, as the Bishop was resident in London when said to be a visitor at William Swift's house in Dublin. His will is dated 19 May, 1703, and was proved 1 March, 1705-6. He was married four times, but only two children survived him, a son, the Billy Swift whose death is mentioned in the Journal to Stella, and a daughter, who married one of his brother Godwin's sons.

¹ This is a reference to the famous *testimonium* from the University of Dublin, which Orrery believed ("Remarks," p. 13) to have contained the words *speciali gratia*, and to have brought credit on that account to Swift at Oxford. (See Scott's "Life," p. 515, and Barrett's "Essay," p. 36).

² Swift had gone to Oxford in the preceding December, probably for the purpose of visiting his cousin, Thomas Swift, who had been with him at Kilkenny School, and at Trinity College, Dublin, and who was then studying at Balliol College, whence his father, Swift's uncle, the Rev. Thomas Swift, had graduated. It was probably then that Swift conceived the idea of taking his master of arts degree at Oxford. According to Delany ("Observations," p. 34) he did so in order to show that he could succeed in a more difficult course, but no examination was then necessary for that degree. Swift's residence at Oxford, which has been sometimes magnified into months, can have been only very brief. On 14 June, 1692, Swift, as a bachelor of arts of Dublin University, was incorporated a member of Oxford University from Hart Hall, which from its antiquity enjoyed a precedence in the right of inscribing strangers on its books ("Hertford College," by S. C. Hamilton, p. 38). Three weeks later, on 5 July, he received his master of arts degree.

me] favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks to strangers, than ever I was in seven years to Dublin College. I am not to take orders till the King gives me a prebendary; and Sir William Temple, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish, because I suppose, he believes I shall leave him, and, upon some accounts, he thinks me a little necessary to him [at present].¹ If I were [affording] entertainment, or doing you any satisfaction by my letters, I should be very glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it by all others. I am sorry my fortune should fling me so far from the best of my relations; but hope that I shall have the happiness to see you sometime or other. Pray my humble service to my good aunt, and the rest of my relations, if you please.

V. [*Deane Swift's Essay.*]

SWIFT TO DEANE SWIFT²

Leicester, *June 3, 1694.*

I RECEIVED your kind letter to-day from your sister; and am very glad to find you will spare time from business so far as to write a long letter to one you have none at all with but friendship, which, as the world passes, is perhaps one of the idlest things in it. It is a pleasure to me to see

¹ About that time Temple became alive to the importance of giving more personal attention to the publication of his works. In a prefatory note to the third edition of the second part of his "Miscellanea," which was published in that year, it is stated that the first edition of the essays, which it contains, had been issued "without the author's taking any further notice of them than giving his consent to a friend who desired it," and that he had then been prevailed on to review them and augment them "with several large periods" which had been omitted in the previous editions. It was in connection with this work that Swift doubtless proved his ability to be of assistance to Temple in the revision of his writings.

² Deane Swift was the father of Swift's biographer of that name, and a son of Swift's uncle Godwin. Like his brother William (*supra*, p. 8, n. 4), Godwin Swift was married four times, his third wife being a daughter of Richard Deane the regicide, and his son Deane being her eldest child. Deane Swift was younger than his cousin Jonathan,

you sally out of your road, and take notice of curiosities, of which I am very glad to have part, and desire you to set by some idle minutes for a commerce which shall ever be dear to me, and, from so good an observer as you may easily be, cannot fail of being useful. I am sorry to see so much superstition in a country so given to trade; I half used to think those two to be incompatible. Not that I utterly dislike your processions for rain or fair weather, which, as trifling as they are, yet have good effects to quiet common heads, and infuse a gaping devotion among the rabble. But your burning the old woman, unless she were a duenna, I shall never be reconciled to; though it is easily observed that nations which have most gallantry to the young, are ever the severest upon the old. I have not leisure to descant farther upon your pleasing letter, nor any thing to return you from so barren a scene as this, which I shall leave in four days toward my journey for Ireland.

I had designed a letter to my cousin Willoughby,¹ and

and, when this letter was written, cannot have been more than twenty years of age, but before that time he had gone out to Portugal to join one of his step-brothers, who had become a Portuguese merchant. He returned from Portugal about the year 1705, and married a lady, like himself of Cromwellian descent, called Lenthall. They took up their abode in the county of Meath, about six miles to the south-west of Swift's living of Laracor, in a seat now known as Lionsden, and towards its embellishment Swift is said to have sent from Laracor "a bundle of osiers and half a dozen young cherry trees." (Deane Swift's "Essay," p. 372.) Deane Swift's will, which was made on his intending "to take a voyage over sea," is dated 16 May, 1713, and was proved on 17 May, 1714. In it he leaves bequests for the parish of Castlerickard, in which Lionsden is situated, on the condition, not improbably inspired by Swift, that Divine Service was performed in the parish church with due reverence and decent ceremony as prescribed by the Church of England on the Lord's Day, morning and evening, on every Holy Day and on every Wednesday and Friday. He mentions in his will his wife, his only child Deane, and his sister Hannah Maria, who lived with them, and is alluded to in this letter.

¹ Willoughby Swift was the step-brother whom Deane Swift had joined in Portugal, and was at that time Godwin Swift's eldest surviving son, his mother being Elizabeth Wheeler, who is said to have been related to the Ormond family. As the bountiful relative he figures in a well-known story of Swift's college days, and his paternal kindness and liberality to his father's "numerous progeny," says Deane Swift ("Essay," p. 52), "can never be sufficiently praised or acknowledged." His will, which is dated at Lisbon in January,

the last favour he has done me requires a great deal of acknowledgment; but the thoughts of my sending so many before, has made me believe it better to trust you with delivering my best thanks to him, and that you will endeavour to persuade him how extreme sensible of his goodness and generosity I am. I wish and shall pray he may be as happy as he deserves, and he cannot be more. My mother desires her best love to him and to you, with both our services to my cousin's wife.

I forgot to tell you I left Sir William Temple a month ago, just as I foretold it to you; and every thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed. He was extreme angry I left him; and yet would not oblige himself any further than upon my good behaviour, nor would promise any thing firmly to me at all, so that everybody judged I did best to leave him. I design to be ordained September next, and make what endeavours I can for something in the Church. I wish it may ever lie in my cousin's way or yours to have interest to bring me in chaplain of the factory.¹

If any thing offers from Dublin that may serve either to satisfy or divert you, I will not fail of contributing, and giving you constant intelligence from thence of whatever you shall desire. I am,

Your affectionate cousin and servant,

J. SWIFT.

1709-10, with a codicil executed at the same place shortly before his death in March, 1712-13, shows that he was in monetary difficulties and that beyond his grandfather's property in Herefordshire, there was little left for him to bequeath. He desires to be interred "on the other side of the water," where his "wives and children" had been buried, and mentions his daughters, Honoria, wife of Ferdinand Swanton, and Hannah, wife of the Rev. Stafford Lightburne, who became Swift's curate.

¹ As a result of the treaties between England and Portugal during the reign of Charles II, a large body of English merchants and factors had settled in Lisbon, and as appears from Swift's reference, a chaplain was attached, as in other cases of the kind, to the company.

VI. [*Locker's Patchwork*.¹]

SWIFT TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

Dublin, *October 6, 1694.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

THAT I might not continue by any means the many troubles I have given you, I have all this while avoided one, which I fear proves necessary at last. I have taken all due methods to be ordained, and one time of ordination is already elapsed since my arrival without effecting it. Two or three Bishops, acquaintances of our family, have signified to me and them, that after so long a standing in the University, it is admired I have not entered upon something or other, above half the clergy in this town being my juniors, and that it being so many years since I left this kingdom, they could not admit me to the ministry without some certificate of my behaviour where I lived; and my Lord Archbishop of Dublin was pleased to say a good deal of this kind to me yesterday, concluding against all I had to answer, that he expected I should have a certificate from your Honour of my conduct in your family.²

¹ This letter has been printed in previous editions of the correspondence from a copy made by the Rev. Robert Shipman, who was Rector of Compton in Hampshire in 1765, and is said to have been a relation of the Temples. The copy was not accurate, and several words were printed in italics which are not emphasized in the original. The letter came into the possession of Mr. Frederick Locker-Lampson just after Forster had published his "Life of Swift," and is now in the library which Locker-Lampson collected at Rowfant in Sussex.

² The see of Dublin was at that time held by Narcissus Marsh, who is recollected at Oxford by his rich gifts of Oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian, and in Dublin by his foundation of the Library of St. Sepulchre, commonly called Marsh's Library. Swift's character of Marsh will be found in the "Prose Works" (xi, 189). His own diary reveals him as a man of exalted piety, although perhaps at times inclined to indulge in self-complacency, and as Mr. Richard Bagwell observes ("D. N. B.," xxxvi, 218), with a savour of superstition in his character. That Marsh was especially cautious in admitting candidates to holy orders may be gathered from the fact that when recording the consecration of one of his brethren on the Irish episcopal bench he adds, "in which I had no hand (the Lord's name be praised for it) nor may I ever be concerned in bringing unworthy men into the Church." There is an interesting notice of Marsh in "Some Worthies of the Irish Church," by the late Professor George T. Stokes.

The sense I am in, how low I am fallen in your Honour's thoughts, has denied me assurance enough to beg this favour, till I find it impossible to avoid; and I entreat your Honour to understand, that no person is admitted to a living here, without some knowledge of his abilities for it, which it being reckoned impossible to judge in those who are not ordained, the usual method is to admit men first to some small reader's place till by preaching upon occasions, they can value themselves for better preferment. This (without great friends) is so general, that if I were fourscore years old I must go the same way, and should at that age be told, every one must have a beginning. I entreat that your Honour will consider this, and will please to send me some certificate of my behaviour during almost three years in your family; wherein I shall stand in need of all your goodness to excuse my many weaknesses and follies and oversights, much more to say any thing to my advantage. The particulars expected of me are what relate to morals and learning, and the reasons of quitting your Honour's family, that is, whether the last was occasioned by any ill actions. They are all entirely left to your Honour's mercy, though in the first I think I cannot reproach myself any farther than for infirmities.¹

This is all I dare beg at present from your Honour, under circumstances of life not worth your regard. What is left me to wish, next to the health and felicity of your Honour and family, is, that Heaven would one day allow me the opportunity to leave my acknowledgments at your foot for so many favours I have received, which, whatever effect they have had upon my fortune, shall never fail to have the greatest upon my mind, in approving myself, upon all occasions,

Your Honour's most obedient and most dutiful servant.
J. SWIFT.

I beg my most humble duty and service be presented

¹ This letter was endorsed by one of Temple's relations, "Swift's penitential letter," and from its contents it has been assumed that Temple kept Swift in a state of servitude. It must not be forgotten that Temple was pompous and stately; Swift sensitive and passionate. "A single letter of depreciation from a young man to an offended patron during a quarrel surely does not prove that their relations at other times were those of tyrant and slave." ("The North British Review," li, 388.)

to my ladies, your Honour's lady and sister. The ordination is appointed by the Archbishop by the beginning of November, so that, if your Honour will not grant this favour immediately, I fear it will come too late.¹

Addressed—For the Honourable Sir William Temple, Bart., at his house at Moor Park, near Farnham, in Surrey, England. By way of London.

VII. [*Copy.*²]

SWIFT TO MISS JANE WARING

*April 29, 1696.*³

MADAM,

IMPATIENCE is the most inseparable quality of a lover, and indeed of every person who is in pursuit of a design whereon he conceives his greatest happiness or misery to

¹ Nineteen days later, on 25 October, 1694, Swift was ordained deacon, and three months later, on 13 January, 1694-5, priest, by William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare. (See "Proc. of Royal Irish Academy," II, ii, 4.)

² This letter was first printed in 1789 in George Monck Berkeley's "Literary Relics." The original was then in the possession of a Dr. Saunders, of Dublin. Subsequently, in 1804, when the original was in the hands of the Earl Macartney, Berkeley's copy was collated with it by Edmund Malone, and such variations as were noted by him are here introduced. (See Forster's "Life," p. 78.)

³ This letter was dated either at Belfast or Carrickfergus. A fortnight after his admission to priest's orders, on 28 January, 1694-5, Swift had been appointed by the Irish Government, then vested in three Lords Justices, of whom Lord Capel, of Tewkesbury, was the chief, to the prebend of Kilroot, in the Cathedral of Connor. The corps of this prebend consisted of the vicarages of Kilroot and Templecorran, and the rectory of Ballynure, comprising an area of nearly sixteen hundred acres. The parish of Kilroot lies on the northern side of Belfast Lough, to the east of the parish of Carrickfergus. It has for its northern and eastern boundaries the parish of Templecorran; the parish of Ballynure, which lies to the north-west, is separated from it by the parish of Carrickfergus. The church of Kilroot was, in Swift's time, in ruins, but the churches of Templecorran and Ballynure were in use. ("Swift in Kilroot," Ulster Biographical Sketches, 2nd Series, by Classon Porter, p. 13.) It was at Kilroot Point that, in the year 1760, the French force under Thourot landed (McSkimin's "Hist. of Carrickfergus," Belfast, 1823, p. 81).

depend.¹ It is the same thing in war, in courts, and in common business. Every one who hunts after pleasure, or fame, or fortune, is still restless and uneasy till he has hunted down his game; and all this is not only very natural, but something reasonable too, for a violent desire is little better than a distemper, and therefore men are not to blame in looking after a cure. I find myself hugely infected with this malady, and am easily vain enough to believe it has some very good reasons to excuse it. For indeed, in my case, there are some circumstances which will admit pardon for more than ordinary disquiets. That dearest object upon which all my prospect of happiness entirely depends, is in perpetual danger to be removed for ever from my sight. Varina's² life is daily wasting, and though one just and honourable action would furnish health to her, and unspeakable happiness to us both, yet some power that repines at human felicity has that influence to hold her continually doating on her cruelty, and me upon the cause of it. This fully convinces me of what we are told, that the miseries of man's life are all beaten out on his own anvil. Why was I so foolish to put my hopes and fears into the power or management of another? Liberty is doubtless the most valuable blessing of life; yet we are fond to fling

¹ The lady to whom this letter is addressed is said by all Swift's biographers to have been a sister of one of his companions in Trinity College, Dublin. There were in his time two undergraduates of the name, sons of William Waring, of Waringstown, in the county of Down, William, who matriculated on 11 June, 1681, and Richard, who matriculated on 9 April, 1684, but their relationship to this lady was that of cousin. As Deane Swift states ("Essay," p. 33), Jane Waring was the sister of Westenra Waring, who was also a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, but did not enter until 16 June, 1691, more than three years after Swift had left. They were children of the Rev. Roger Waring, who was Archdeacon of Dromore, and held in right of that dignity the living of Donaghcloney, in which the seat of the Waring family is situated. ("An Ulster Parish," by Rev. E. D. Atkinson, p. 105.) His wife was a Westenra, Isabella, sister of Peter Westenra, who represented Athboy in William III's first Irish Parliament, and their father, who was one of the first of the name to come from Holland, was a collateral ancestor of Lord Rossmore. Archdeacon Waring's will, which is undated and unsigned, but was proved by his widow on 23 July, 1692, is on record. In it he mentions his sons Westenra and Peter, and his daughters Jane, Elizabeth, and Fenekin, as well as three younger children, whose names are not given.

² A play upon the name Waring, or as Forster considers it ("Life," p. 77), a more poetical form.

it away on those who have been these five thousand years using us ill. Philosophy advises to keep our desires and prospects of happiness as much as we can in our own breasts, and independent of anything without. He that sends them abroad is likely to have as little quiet as a merchant whose stock depends upon winds, and waves, and pirates, or upon the words and faith of creditors, every whit as dangerous and inconstant as the other.

I am a villain if I have not been poring this half hour over the paper merely for want of something to say to you; or is it rather that I have so much to say to you, that I know not where to begin, though at last it is all very likely to be arrant repetition?

Two strangers, a poet and a beggar, went to cuffs yesterday in this town, which minded me to curse heartily both employments. However, I am glad to see those two trades fall out, because I always heard they had been constant cronies; but what was best of all, the poet got the better, and kicked the gentleman beggar out of doors. This was of great comfort to me, till I heard the victor himself was a most abominable bad rhymers, and as mere a vagabond beggar as the other, which is a very great offence to me, for starving is much too honourable for a blockhead. I read some of his verses printed in praise of my Lady Donegal,¹ by which he has plainly proved that Fortune has injured him, and that he is dunce enough to be worth five thousand pounds a year. It is a pity he has not also the qualifications to recommend himself to your sex. I dare engage no ladies would hold him long in suspense with their unkindness: one settlement of separate maintenance, well engrossed, would have more charms than all the wit or passion of a thousand letters. And I will maintain it, any

¹ At a subsequent period Swift sang the praises of this lady in "Apollo's Edict":

"Then, would you paint a matchless dame,
Whom you'd consign to endless fame?
Invoke not Cytherea's aid,
Nor borrow from the blue-eyed maid;
Nor need you on the Graces call;
Take qualities from Donegal."

She was wife of Arthur, third Earl of Donegal, a gallant soldier who was killed while fighting under the Earl of Peterborough at Barcelona, and was the only daughter of Arthur, first Earl of Granard.

man had better have a poor angel to his rival than the devil himself if he was rich.

You have now had time enough to consider my last letter, and to form your own resolutions upon it. I wait your answer with a world of impatience, and if you think fit I should attend you before my journey, I am ready to do it. My Lady Donegal tells me that it is feared my Lord Deputy will not live many days,¹ and if that be so, it is possible I may take shipping from hence;² otherwise I shall set out on Monday fortnight for Dublin,³ and, after one visit of leave to his Excellency, hasten to England; and how far you will stretch the point of your unreasonable scruples to keep me here, will depend upon the strength of the love you pretend for me. In short, Madam, I am once more offered the advantage to have the same acquaintance with greatness that I formerly enjoyed, and with better prospect of interest. I here solemnly offer to forgo it all for your sake. I desire nothing of your fortune; you shall live where and with whom you please till my affairs are settled to your desire, and in the meantime I will push my advancement with all the eagerness and courage imaginable, and do not doubt to succeed.

Study seven years for objections against all this, and by Heaven they will at last be no more than trifles and put-offs. It is true you have known sickness longer than you have me, and therefore perhaps you are more loath to part with

¹ Lord Capel (*supra*, p. 15, n. 3) had been given the sole government of Ireland on 27 May, 1695, with the title of Lord Deputy. His health had given cause for anxiety on more than one occasion ("Correspondence of Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury," edited by Rev. William Coxe, p. 60), and, after a long illness, he died on 30 May, 1696, at Chapelizod, near Dublin, where the chief governor then had his country residence. In his autobiography Swift says ("Prose Works," xi, 379) he was recommended to Capel, but whether by Temple or not is left uncertain. Capel must have been well known to Temple, as he was a near neighbour of his at Sheen, and was no less enthusiastic about gardening. (Evelyn's "Diary," Lond., 1879, ii, 339.)

² There was at that time a noble Jacobean mansion belonging to Lord Chichester in Belfast, and another, equally splendid, belonging to him in Carrickfergus. It is doubtful which Lady Donegal (*supra*, p. 17, n. 1) occupied at that moment. The mansion at Belfast was destroyed by fire in 1706, three of Lady Donegal's children perishing in the flames. ("Ulster Journal of Archæology," I, ii, 1; vii, 1.)

³ Swift had visited Dublin at least once during his residence at Kilroot, as a letter to Miss Waring, now lost, was dated there on 20 December, 1695. (Nichols' "Works," xv, 11, note.)

it as an older acquaintance. But listen to what I here solemnly protest, by all that can be witness to an oath, that if I leave this kingdom before you are mine, I will endure the utmost indignities of fortune rather than ever return again, though the King would send me back his Deputy. And if it must be so, preserve yourself in God's name, for the next lover who has those qualities you love so much beyond any of mine, and who will highly admire you for those advantages which shall never share any esteem from me. Would to Heaven you were but a while sensible of the thoughts into which my present distractions plunge me; they hale me a thousand ways, and I not able to bear them. It is so, by Heaven: the love of Varina is of more tragical consequence than her cruelty. Would to God you had treated and scorned me from the beginning. It was your pity opened the first way to my misfortune; and now your love is finishing my ruin. And it is so then? In one fortnight I must take eternal farewell of Varina, and I wonder will she weep at parting a little to justify her poor pretences of some affection to me? And will my friends still continue reproaching me for the want of gallantry, and neglecting a close siege? How comes it that they all wish us married together, they knowing my circumstances and yours extremely well, and I am sure love you too much, if it be only for my sake, to wish you anything that might cross your interest or your happiness?

Surely, Varina, you have but a very mean opinion of the joys that accompany a true, honourable, unlimited love; yet either nature and our ancestors have hugely deceived us, or else all other sublunary things are dross in comparison. Is it possible you cannot be yet insensible to the prospect of a rapture and delight so innocent and so exalted? Trust me, Varina, Heaven has given us nothing else worth the loss of a thought. Ambition, high appearance, friends, and fortune, are all tasteless and insipid when they come in competition; yet millions of such glorious minutes we are perpetually losing, for ever losing, irrecoverably losing, to gratify empty forms and wrong notions, and affected coldnesses and peevish humour. These are the unhappy encumbrances which we who are distinguished from the vulgar do fondly create to torment ourselves. The only felicity permitted to human life we clog with tedious circumstances and barbarous formality. By Heaven, Varina, you are more

experienced, and have less virgin innocence than I. Would not your conduct make one think you were hugely skilled in all the little politic methods of intrigue? Love, with the gall of too much discretion, is a thousand times worse than with none at all. It is a peculiar part of nature which art debauches, but cannot improve. We have all of us the seeds of it implanted in ourselves, and they require no help from courts or fortune to cultivate and improve them. To resist the violence of our inclinations in the beginning, is a strain of self-denial that may have some pretences to set up for a virtue; but when they are grounded at first upon reason, when they have taken firm root and grown up to a height, it is folly—folly as well as injustice, to withstand their dictates; for this passion has a property peculiar to itself, to be most commendable in its extremes, and it is as possible to err in the excess of piety as of love.

These are the rules I have long followed with you, Varina, and had you pleased to imitate them, we should both have been infinitely happy. The little disguises, and affected contradictions of your sex, were all, to say the truth, infinitely beneath persons of your pride and mine; paltry maxims that they are, calculated for the rabble of humanity. O Varina, how imagination leads me beyond myself and all my sorrows! It is sunk, and a thousand graves lie open! No, Madam, I will give you no more of my unhappy temper, though I derive it all from you.¹

Farewell, Madam, and may love make you awhile forget your temper to do me justice. Only remember, that if you still refuse to be mine, you will quickly lose, for ever lose, him that is resolved to die as he has lived, all yours.

JON. SWIFT.

I have here sent you Mr. Fletcher's letter, wherein I hope I do not injure generosity or break trust, since the contents are purely my own concern. If you will pardon the ill hand and spelling, the reason and sense of it you will find very well and proper.

¹ Jeffreys thought ("Edinburgh Review," xxvii, 27) this letter "chiefly remarkable for its badness and stupidity," and as proving, along with his early poems, how late Swift came to the use of his faculties. He forgot that about the same time Swift had written the "Tale of a Tub." (See "Prose Works," i, 3.)

VIII. [*Deane Swift.*]SWIFT TO ———¹

[1698.]

I RECEIVED your kind letter from Robert by word of mouth, and think it a vast condescension in you to think of us in all your greatness. Now shall we hear nothing from you for five months but "we courtiers." Loory is well, and presents his humble duty to my Lady, and love to his fellow-servant; but he is the miserablest creature in the world, eternally in his melancholy note, whatever I can do, and if his finger does but ache, I am in such a fright you would wonder at it.² I pray return my service to Mrs. Kilby,³ in payment of her's by Robert.

Nothing grows better by your absence but my Lady's chamber floor, and tumble-down Dick. Here are three

¹ This letter was written from Moor Park, where Swift had returned soon after writing the preceding one. In previous editions of the Correspondence it has been dated 1696, and has been stated to have been addressed to Swift's sister, but from internal evidence it was evidently written early in 1698, and addressed to Stella or her mother, Mrs. Johnson, who had accompanied Sir William Temple, then a widower, and his sister Lady Giffard, to Temple's London house "in the Pell Mell." (See Forster's "Life," p. 90.)

² In a little volume of "Poems by Sir W. T." there is one "Upon my Lady Giffard's Loory," a bird of paradise to which Temple attributes beauty, intelligence, and affection in an equal degree.

"Nurst with her cares, preserved with her fears,
And now alas! embalmed with her tears,
But sure among the griefs that plead just cause,
This needs must be acquitted by the laws;
For never could be greater passion,
Concernment, jealousy for mistress shown,
Content in presence, and at parting grief,
Trouble in absence, by return relief."

Unless Temple anticipated the bird's death, the reference to Loory in this letter indicates that the approximate date of 1679, assigned to the volume of poems in the catalogue of the British Museum, is incorrect.

³ Scott says ("Works," xv, 268) that in some editions of the Correspondence the name is printed Filby. This seems not improbably to have been correct as Stella's sister married one Filby, who has been variously described as a baker and a butcher, and who appears from the Journal to Stella to have been sometime in the employment of the Salt Office.

letters for you, and Molly will not send one of them; she says you ordered her to the contrary. Mr. Mose¹ and I desire you will remember our love to the King, and let us know how he looks. Robert says the Czar is here, and is fallen in love with you, and designs to carry you to Muscovy; pray provide yourself with muffs and sable tippets, &c.²

Æolus has made a strange revolution in the rooks' nests; but I say no more, for it is dangerous to meddle with things above us. I desire your absence heartily, for now I live in great state, and the cook comes in to know what I please to have for dinner: I ask very gravely what is in the house, and accordingly give orders for a dish of pigeons, or, &c. You shall have no more ale here unless you send us a letter. Here is a great bundle and a letter for you; both came together from London. We all keep home like so many cats.

IX. [*Original*.³]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JOHN WINDER

Moor Park, *April* 1, 1698.

SINCE the resignation of my living and the noise it made amongst you, I have had, at least, three or four very wise letters, unsubscribed, from the Lord knows who, declaring much sorrow for my quitting Kilroot, blaming my prudence for doing it before I was possessed of something else, and censuring my truth in relation to a certain lady. One or two of them talked of you as one who was less my friend

¹ Ralph Mose, who was Temple's steward, and afterwards married Stella's mother. Temple thus refers to them in his will: "I leave for a legacy to Bridget Johnson, Ralph Mose, and Leonard Robinson twenty pounds apiece with half a year's wages to them and all my other servants."

² The visit of Peter the Great to England was in the first months of 1698. Evelyn, whose house at Deptford the Czar occupied, tells us (*op. cit.*, iii, 138) that the Czar brought with him the Russian climate, the season being "exceeding sharp and cold," with "extraordinary great snow and frost" in the month of May.

³ In the Forster Collection, No. 539. It had belonged to Mr. Young. See *supra*, p. 1, n. 1, and Forster's "Life," pp. 81-84.

than you pretended, with more of the same sort, too tedious to trouble you or myself with. For what they say relating to myself, either as to my prudence or conscience, I can answer sufficiently for my own satisfaction or for that of anybody else who is my friend enough to desire it. But I have no way of convincing people in the clouds, and for anything of the letters that relates to you, I need not answer the objections because I do not believe them; for I was ever assured of your good intentions and justice and friendship, and though I might suspect them, yet I do not find any interest you can have either to wish or to use me ill.¹

I am very glad you have finished the affair and are settled in possession. I think you may henceforth reckon yourself easy, and have little [to] do besides serving God, your friends and yourself, and unless desire of place or titles will interfere, I know nothing besides accidents can hinder you from being happy, to which if I have contributed either by chance or good will, I shall reckon it among the lucky adventures of my life.²

For what you say of my having no reason to repent any of my endeavours to serve you, I can and have always been of the same opinion; and therein yourself may bear me witness, when you remember that my promises and designs relating to your succeeding in the prebend were not of a sudden, or by chance, but were the constant tenor of what

¹ The Rev. John Winder, who, as Rector of a parish called Carnmoney had been Swift's neighbour in the county of Antrim, had been collated on 11 March, 1697-8, to the prebend of Kilroot, which Swift had resigned early in January. Winder is said to have gone to Ireland as a chaplain to William III, in whose army Winder's father, Colonel Cuthbert Winder, of Wingfield in Berkshire, was an officer. His first preferment in Ireland appears to have been a prebend in the Cathedral of Clogher. He resigned Kilroot in 1717, but was alive fourteen years later when he addressed a letter to Swift. (*Cf.* Cotton's "*Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*," iii, 104, 266; v, 246; and "*The Winders of Lorton*," by F. A. Winder, in the *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Society*, xiv, 199, 207; xv, 238.) A sermon of his on the mischief of faction to Church and State was printed (Nichols' "*Works*," xv, 17).

² These passages indicate that Swift had been instrumental in securing the prebend for his friend, and that the addition to his income was acceptable to Winder; but Monck Mason, who married Winder's great-granddaughter, has disproved ("*Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral*," p. 235) the pathetic story, first told by Sheridan, that Winder was an old man in abject poverty with a large family.

I said when we last parted, and of most of my letters since, neither did that enclosed letter of the Bishop's hasten it at all, for Sir W[illiam] T[emple] desired to write for my further licence, and I would not consent to it. Besides I had several accounts from others that it was your opinion I should not give it up so soon, and that what you supposed about a visitation so soon was a mistake, and that you would write to me to the same effect, which either never came to my hand, or else you justly omitted to do upon receipt of my resolution and resignation enclosed. This I thought fit to say to set us both right and clear in each other's thoughts.

For my own fortune, as late in my life as it is, I must e'en let it drive on its old course. I think I told in my last that ten days before my resignation, my Lord Sunderland fell and I with him.¹ Since that there have been other courses, which if they succeed, I shall be proud to own the methods, or if otherwise, very much ashamed.

I shall be loath any affairs of mine should constrain you; therefore I approve of your method in first adjusting my accounts, wherein I neither suspect your justice nor dislike your resolutions of exactness, for I am and ever was very much for that custom of making accounts the clearest especially with my nearest friends. If my uncle Adam Swift should be down in the North² and would desire to state them with you, I entreat you would comply, and take

¹ Sunderland resigned his place in the Government on 26 December, 1697. His knowledge of Swift tends to confirm Swift's statement ("Prose Works," i, 222) that Sunderland continued in intimate friendship with Temple until his death, which Courtenay receives ("Life of Sir William Temple," ii, 248) with doubt. The subject will be again referred to in connection with a letter from Swift to Lady Giffard. Whatever he may have thought at that time of Sunderland, Swift saw reason afterwards to regard that nobleman in the light which led Macaulay to trace his character with great severity ("Prose Works," v, 433; xi, 176).

² Adam Swift describes himself in his will, which is not signed, but was proved on 27 May, 1704, as of Greencastle, which lies in the county of Down on the eastern shore of Carlingford Lough, opposite Greenore. As a solicitor (*supra*, p. 8, n. 4), a profession to which he was admitted on 20 June, 1671, his principal residence was probably in Dublin, and it was there his death took place from a seizure at the moment he was writing his will. He was twice married, one of his wives being a sister-in-law of William Lowndes, the Treasury official who invented the parliamentary term Ways and Means. A son, called William, and two daughters survived him. The eldest daughter was the wife of that "little jackanapes" Perry ("Prose Works," ii, 180),

the usual course in such cases either for present or future payment, wherein I shall not be urgent, but desire you to choose your own time, and fix upon it, and I shall readily consent.

Mr. Higginson has writ to me about that abatement and I wish you had eased me of that concern, as you might have done from what I said. I thought the half was sufficient; I made no promise of any at all. I would do nothing rigorous, I am not on the spot to judge of circumstances; I want money sufficiently, and have nothing to trust to but the little in your hands. I dealt easily with him the year before. The utmost I will say is this. I gave him half a promise to endeavour he should be farmer this year, but that is now out of my power. If you have disposed it to another, in consideration of that disappointment let him take the whole abatement in God's name, but if you have let it to him this year, e'en be kind to him yourself if you please, for then he shall only be abated half, that is positive.

I never heard whether the Bishop received my letter of farewell; pray know, and present his Lordship with my humble duty and service.¹

I assure you, for I am an understanding man in that affair, that the parish of Ballynure upon a fair view, at eighteen pence per acre [of] oats, amounts to better than a hundred pounds a year, with cows, sheep, cats and dogs, &c.²

I would have you send me a list of my books, and desire you will not transmit them to Dublin till you get all together. I will not pardon you the loss of any: I told you the method of collecting any that are not in your hands.

and the younger was the Mrs. Whiteway who bestowed such tender care on Swift in his later days.

¹ Shortly before Swift's appointment to Kilroot, Thomas Hacket, who had been promoted to the sees of Down and Connor, with a high reputation (Stowe Manuscripts, Brit. Mus., 200, f. 271), had been deprived of his bishopric for the most gross offences. In his room Samuel Foley, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and a man of great promise, was installed; but within nine months he was cut off by fever, and was succeeded by another Fellow of the same College, Edward Walkington, to whom the present reference is made. Both Foley and Walkington would have known Swift in his college days.

² The value of Swift's prebend has been estimated as only £90 a year, but must have been considerably greater as the income from one parish of the three was more than that amount.

Jack Tisdall¹ will do it. He has my trunk and some books and papers which you are also to get. Pray use messengers and pay them at my charge. And for God's sake see about paying Taylor of Loughbrickland²—I have been an hour thinking of the town's name—for something about grazing a horse and farrier's bill it cannot be above four or five shillings and you may know by a letter.

You will buy a wooden box for my books, and get the new ones put up in brown paper. I told you enough of this in one of my last. Pray let me know if you want further information, for I had rather you would take time than not finish as you and I shall like, though it be but about a trifle. Pray give my service to your wife and family, I am,

Yours assuredly,

J. SWIFT.

Addressed—For R[ev. Mr. W]inder, Preb[endary of Kilroot],
at Belf[ast in the county] of Ant[irim.]

X. [*Original*.³]

SWIFT TO REV. JOHN WINDER

Moor Park, *January 13, 1698-9.*

I AM not likely to be so pleased with anything again this good while, as I was with your letter of December 20th, and it has begun to put me into a good opinion of my own merits, or at least my skill at negotiation, to find I have so quickly restored a correspondence that I feared was declining, as it requires more charms and address in women to revive one fainting flame than to kindle a dozen new ones. But I assure you I was very far from imputing your silence to any bad cause, having never entertained one single ill thought of you in my life, but to a custom

¹ Probably a son of William Tisdall, who was Sheriff of Carrickfergus in 1690 and 1694, and a brother of Stella's lover, the Rev. William Tisdall (see *infra*, p. 38, n. 1).

² Loughbrickland is on the main road from Dublin to Belfast, in the county of Down, eight miles to the north of Newry. It was chosen by King William as the place of assembly for his army before the Battle of the Boyne.

³ In the possession of Mr. John Murray. See Preface.

which breaks off commerce between abundance of people after a long absence. At first one omits writing for a little while, and then one stays a while longer to consider of excuses, and at last it grows desperate, and one does not write at all; at this rate I have served others, and have been served myself.

I wish I had a lexicon by me to find whether your Greek word be spelled and accented right; and I am very sorry you have made an *acutum in ultima*, as if you laid the greatest stress upon the worst part of the word. However, I protest against your meaning, or any interpretation you shall ever make of that nature out of my letters. If I thought you deserved any bitter words, I should either deliver them plainly, or hold my tongue altogether, for I esteem the custom of conveying one's resentments by hints or innuendoes to be a sign of malice, or fear, or too little sincerity; but I have told you *coram* and *absens*, that you are in your nature more sensible than you need be, and I find it is with reputation as with all other possessions, that those who have the greatest portion are most covetous of it, and it is hard you cannot be satisfied with the esteem of the best among your neighbours, but lose your time in regarding what may be thought of you by one of my privacy and distance. I wish you could as easily make my esteem and friendship for you to be of any value, as you may be sure to command them.

I should be sorry if you have been at an inconvenience in hastening my accounts; and I dare refer you to my letters, that they will lay the fault upon yourself; for I think I desired more than once, that you would not make more dispatch than stood with your ease, because I was in no haste at all.

I desired of you two or three times that when you had sent me a catalogue of those few books, you would not send them to Dublin till you had heard again from me. The reason was, that I did believe there were one or two of them that might have been useful to you, and one or two more that were not worth the carriage. Of the latter sort were an old musty Horace, and Foley's book; ¹ of the former

¹ Probably a volume published by his late bishop, Samuel Foley, in 1683, entitled "Two Sermons, the first preached at the consecration of William Bishop of Kildare, William Bishop of Kilmore and Richard

were Reynolds's Works [with a] Collection of Sermons in quarto,¹ Stillingfleet's Grounds,² &c. and the folio paper book, very good for sermons, or a receipt-book for your wife, or to keep accounts for mutton, raisins, &c. The "Scepsis Scientifica"³ is not mine, but old Mr. Dobbs's,⁴ and I wish it were restored. He has Temple's "Miscellanea"⁵ instead of it, which is a good book, worth your reading. If "Scepsis Scientifica" comes to me, I will burn it for a fustian piece of abominable curious virtuoso stuff. The books missing are few and inconsiderable, not worth troubling anybody about. I hope this will come to your hands before you have sent your cargo, that you may keep those books I mention; and desire you will write my names, and *ex dono* before them in large letters.

I desire my humble service to Mrs. Winder, and that you will let her know I shall pay a visit at Carnmoney some day

Bishop of Kilalla, and the other preached at the primary visitation of Francis Archbishop of Dublin."

¹ "The Works of Edward Reynolds [Bishop of Norwich] with a collection of thirty sermons preached on several solemn occasions," 2 vols., Lond., 1678-79. It is described in the Brit. Mus. catalogue as a folio.

² "A Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion," by Edward Stillingfleet (Bishop of Worcester), Lond., 1681, folio.

³ "Scepsis Scientifica, or Confest Ignorance the Way to Science, an Essay of the Vanity of Dogmatizing and Confident Opinion," by Joseph Glanville, Court Chaplain to Charles II, Lond., 1665. Dean Bernard, to whom I am indebted for the full title of this work, writes to me that as the title of his book indicates, Glanville was a philosophical sceptic and empiricist, whose arguments for the empirical basis of the axioms which lie beyond all knowledge would naturally have appeared to Swift to be "abominable, curious, virtuoso stuff."

⁴ This reference is to Richard Dobbs, who was High Sheriff of the county of Antrim in 1664, and who resided at Castle Dobbs, the principal residence in the parish of Kilroot, where his descendants are seated to the present day. Twelve years before Swift came to Kilroot Dobbs had prepared for publication "A Brief Description of the County of Antrim," in which he mentions that the inhabitants of Kilroot, excepting his own family and retainers, were all Presbyterians and of Scotch extraction, and that there was not a natural born Irishman or Roman Catholic in the parish which could furnish about one hundred men (Classon Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 16). His will is dated 4 May, 1701, and was proved 2 June following. Mr. Litton Falkiner, who, on the invitation of the present owner, Mr. A. S. Dobbs, had an opportunity of seeing Castle Dobbs, has noted that "the house which dates from the seventeenth century is the same which Swift visited, although enlarged in the eighteenth century."

⁵ See *supra*, p. 10, n. 1.

or other, how little soever any of you may think of it.¹ But I will, as you desire, excuse you the delivery of my compliments to poor H[enry] Clements,² and hope you will have much better fortune than poor Mr. Davis,³ who has left a family that is like to find a cruel want of him. Pray let me hear that you grow very rich, and begin to make purchases. I never heard that H[enry] Clements was dead. I was at his mayoral feast.⁴ Has he been Mayor since, or did he die then, and everybody forget to send me word of it?

Those sermons you have thought fit to transcribe will utterly disgrace you, unless you have so much credit that whatever comes from you will pass. They were what I was firmly resolved to burn, and especially some of them, the idlest trifling stuff that ever was writ, calculated for a church without a company or a roof, like our [chapel at] Oxford.⁵ They will be a perfect lampoon upon me, whenever you look upon them, and remember they are mine.

I remember those letters to Eliza:⁶ they were writ in my youth. You might have sealed them up, and nobody of my

¹ The house which, according to tradition, Swift occupied at Kilroot is small, and Winder evidently found it convenient to continue to reside at Carnmoney. With respect to the house which Swift is supposed to have occupied, Mr. Litton Falkiner notes, "Close to Kilroot graveyard, where there are no remains of the church (*supra*, p. 15, n. 3), there is a thatched cottage-built house, now in possession of a Castle Dobbs tenant, called from its shape the Egg, in which Swift is reputed to have resided."

² Henry Clements, who resided at Straid, near Carrickfergus, and was a member of the family now represented by the Earl of Leitrim, died six months after Swift left Kilroot on 2 November, 1696. At the time of his death he was Mayor and one of the representatives in parliament of Carrickfergus. (See McSkimin, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 328.)

³ Probably John Davis, of Carrickfergus, whose will, dated 9 April, 1693, and proved in 1694, shows that he left a wife and three daughters.

⁴ According to McSkimin (*op. cit.*, pp. 185, 375^a), the installation of the Mayor of Carrickfergus was attended with much ceremony. The civic worthies and their friends were feasted by the Mayor, and the commonalty were entertained by the baiting of a bull in the market-place.

⁵ Hart Hall does not appear to have possessed a chapel until 1716, but possibly Swift referred to the adjacent chapel of our Lady at Smithgate (S. G. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 41). Winder is said to have been at Oxford with Swift, but his name does not appear in Foster's "Alumni Oxonienses."

⁶ Possibly Betty Jones, his first Leicester flame (*supra*, p. 4, n. 1).

friends would have opened them. Pray burn them. There were parcels of other papers, that I would not have lost; and I hope you have packed them up so that they may come to me. Some of them were abstracts and collections from reading.

You mention a dangerous rival for an absent lover; but I must take my fortune. If the report proceeds, pray inform me; and when you have leisure and humour, give me the pleasure of a letter from you. And though you are a man full of fastenings to the world, yet endeavour to continue a friendship in absence; for who knows but fate may jumble us together again? And I believe, had I been assured of your neighbourhood, I should not have been so unsatisfied with the region I was planted in. I am, and will be ever entirely,

Yours, &c.

J. SWIFT.

Pray let me know something of my debt being paid to Taylor, the inn-keeper of —¹; I have forgot the town between Dromore and Newry.

Addressed—To the Rev Mr. Winder, Prebendary of Kilroot, to be left at Belfast in the county of Antrim, Ireland.

XI. [*Sheridan*.]

MISS JANE SWIFT TO DEANE SWIFT

May 26, 1699.²

MY poor brother has lost his best friend Sir William Temple, who was so fond of him whilst he lived, that he made him give up his living in this country, to stay with him at Moor Park, and promised to get him one in England. But death came in between, and has left him unprovided both of friend and living.

¹ Loughbrickland (*supra*, p. 26).

² Swift's sister was no doubt in Dublin when she wrote this letter to her cousin in Portugal (*supra*, p. 10, n. 2). On 13 December in that year a license was issued for her marriage to one Joseph Fenton, a currier in Dublin. The marriage was opposed by Swift, whose objections to Fenton proved well founded; but there is no truth in the statement that he carried his resentment to such a length as never

XII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO MISS JANE WARING

Dublin, *May* 4, 1700.¹

MADAM,

I AM extremely concerned at the account you give of your health; for my uncle² told me he found you in appearance better than you had been in some years, and I was in hopes you had still continued so. God forbid I should ever be the occasion of creating more troubles to you, as you seem to intimate! The letter you desired me to answer I have frequently read, and thought I had replied to every part of it that required it; however, since you are pleased to repeat those particulars wherein you desire satisfaction, I shall endeavour to give it you as well as I am able. You would know what gave my temper that sudden turn, as to alter the style of my letters since I last came over. If there has been that alteration you observe, I have told you the cause abundance of times. I had used a thousand endeavours and arguments, to get you from the company and place you are in; both on the account of your health and humour, which I thought were like to suffer very much in

to see his sister again. (See "Prose Works," ii, 240, 367.) An examination of the matriculation entries has not confirmed Sir Henry Craik's informant ("Life," i, 105) in thinking that Fenton was a student at Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ Eight months had then passed since Swift landed in Ireland in the train of Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, who had been a short time previously appointed one of the chief governors of Ireland with the title of a Lord Justice. According to his own account Swift was originally appointed secretary as well as chaplain to Berkeley, and acted on the voyage in both capacities; but on their arrival in Dublin was superseded in the office of secretary by another person. It appears from a letter in the correspondence of John Ellis that Arthur Bushe, the person who is alleged to have superseded Swift, did not travel with Berkeley (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 28884, f. 167), and it is very doubtful whether Berkeley ever intended to retain Swift permanently as secretary—it would have been contrary to all precedent to employ a clergyman in that capacity.

² His uncle Adam Swift (*supra*, p. 24, n. 2) was a friend of the Warings, and appears from a reference in his will to have had a residence or property in the parish of Magheralin, which adjoins that of Donaghcloney—the parish in which Waringstown is situated (*supra*, p. 16, n. 1).

such an air, and before such examples. All I had in answer from you, was nothing but a great deal of arguing, and sometimes in a style so very imperious as I thought might have been spared, when I reflected how much you had been in the wrong. The other thing you would know is, whether this change of style be owing to the thoughts of a new mistress. I declare, upon the word of a Christian and a gentleman, it is not; neither had I ever thoughts of being married to any other person but yourself. I had ever an opinion that you had a great sweetness of nature and humour, and whatever appeared to the contrary, I looked upon it only as a thing put on as necessary before a lover; but I have since observed in abundance of your letters such marks of a severe indifference, that I began to think it was hardly possible for one of my few good qualities to please you. I never knew any so hard to be worked upon, even in matters where the interest and concern are entirely your own; all which, I say, passed easily while we were in the state of formalities and ceremony; but, since that, there is no other way of accounting for this untractable behaviour in you, but by imputing it to a want of common esteem and friendship for me.

When I desired an account of your fortune, I had no such design as you pretend to imagine. I have told you many a time, that in England it was in the power of any young fellow of common sense to get a larger fortune than ever you pretended to. I asked, in order to consider whether it were sufficient, with the help of my poor income, to make one of your humour easy in a married state. I think it comes to almost a hundred pounds a year;¹ and I think at the same time that no young woman in the world of the same income would dwindle away her health and life in such a sink, and among such family conversation: neither have all your letters been once able to persuade that you have the least value for me, because you so little regarded what I so often said upon that matter. The dismal account you say I have given you of my livings I can assure you to be a true one;² and, since it is a dismal

¹ Her father mentions in his will that she was entitled to charges on lands producing £75 a year, as well as to household stuff and pictures, and bequeathed her in addition £400.

² The value of the union of Laracor, in the county of Meath, to which Swift was appointed on 16 February, 1699-1700, has been esti-

one even in your own opinion, you can best draw consequences from it. The place where Dr. Bolton lived is upon a living which he keeps with the deanery;¹ but the place of residence for that they have given me is within a mile of a town called Trim, twenty miles from hence, and there is no other way but to hire a house at Trim, or build one on the spot: the first is hardly to be done, and the other I am too poor to perform at present. For coming down to Belfast, it is what I cannot yet think of, my attendance is so close, and so much required of me; but our Government sits very loose, and I believe will change in a few months; whether our part will partake in the change, I know not, though I am very apt to believe it; and then I shall be at leisure for a short journey.² But I hope your other friends, more powerful than I, will before that time persuade you from the place where you

mated by Forster ("Life," p. 117) as about £200 a year. The union consisted of the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan and the rectory of Agher. Laracor and Agher which adjoin, and which contain nearly ten thousand acres, lie to the south-east of Trim, about seventeen miles to the north-west of Dublin, while Rathbeggan, which contained nearly three thousand acres, and which was separated from the others by some eleven miles, lay to the east near a village called Dunboyne, through which one of the roads from Dublin to Laracor passed.

¹ Dr. John Bolton, who had previously held the union of Laracor, was presented by letter dated 20 February in that year to the deanery of Derry. Swift thought that preferment ought to have come to him. It has been alleged that opposition on the part of Archbishop King, who then held the see of Derry, prevented his appointment, but, as Mason discovered (*op. cit.*, p. 240), this was not so. In King's letters at the time of the vacancy, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, although various candidates are discussed, Swift is never mentioned unless it be as an unnamed person, whom King supposed to be a relation of Lord Berkeley, and whom he says he would gladly welcome. In addition to the union of Laracor, Bolton had held the adjacent union of Ratoath, and this he retained with the deanery. Swift has asserted that Bolton obtained the deanery by means of a bribe to Bushe (*supra*, p. 31, n. 1); but there are letters in existence which indicate that any support Bushe gave Bolton was due to friendship, and that Bolton accepted the deanery with reluctance, and only on condition that he was allowed to retain the living of Ratoath (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 28885, ff. 244, 254). Bolton, who has been confounded with Theophilus Bolton, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, died as Dean of Derry in 1724.

² The news of the proceedings in Parliament on the question of the resumption of the Irish land grants would then have reached Dublin. Swift's anticipation proved true eight months after, when the Whig ascendancy gave way to a Tory one.

are. I desire my service to your mother, in return for her remembrance, but for any other dealings that way, I entreat your pardon: and I think I have more cause to resent your desires of me in that case, than you have to be angry at my refusals. If you like such company and conduct, much good do you with them!¹ My education has been otherwise.

My uncle Adam asked me one day in private, as by direction, what my designs were in relation to you, because it might be a hindrance to you if I did not proceed. The answer I gave him, which I suppose he has sent you, was to this effect: that I hoped I was no hindrance to you; because the reason you urged against a union with me was drawn from your indisposition, which still continued; that you also thought my fortune not sufficient, which is neither at present in a condition to offer you; that if your health and my fortune were as they ought, I would prefer you above all your sex; but that, in the present condition of both, I thought it was against your opinion, and would certainly make you unhappy; that, had you any other offers which your friends or yourself thought more to your advantage, I should think I were very unjust to be an obstacle in your way. Now for what concerns my fortune, you have answered it. I desire, therefore, you will let me know if your health be otherwise than it was when you told me the doctors advised you against marriage, as what would certainly hazard your life. Are they or you grown of another opinion in this particular? Are you in a condition to manage domestic affairs, with an income of less perhaps than three hundred pounds a year? Have you such an inclination to my person and humour, as to comply with my desires and way of living, and endeavour to make us both as happy as you can? Will you be ready to engage in those methods I shall direct for the improvement of your

¹ Archdeacon Waring (*supra*, p. 16, n. 1) was the son of a Belfast merchant who had been Sovereign of that town, and the Archdeacon's elder brother had followed their father's steps ("Hist. of Belfast," by George Benn, p. 249). Swift's remarks originated, no doubt, in friendships, which led to a second marriage on the part of the Archdeacon's widow. Whether there was cause for Swift's indignation it is not possible to say, but the will of Mrs. Waring's second husband, Robert Greene, of Belfast (dated 1 October, 1726, and proved 5 April, 1727), is evidence of his having been a good husband and stepfather.

mind, so as to make us entertaining company for each other, without being miserable when we are neither visiting nor visited? Can you bend your love and esteem and indifference to others the same way as I do mine? Shall I have so much power in your heart, or you so much government of your passions, as to grow in good humour upon my approach, though provoked by a ——? Have you so much good-nature as to endeavour by soft words to smooth any rugged humour occasioned by the cross accidents of life? Shall the place wherever your husband is thrown be more welcome than courts or cities without him? In short, these are some of the necessary methods to please men, who, like me, are deep-read in the world; and to a person thus made, I should be proud in giving all due returns towards making her happy. These are the questions I have always resolved to propose to her with whom I meant to pass my life; and whenever you can heartily answer them in the affirmative, I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first, and competency in the other, is all I look for. I desire, indeed, a plentiful revenue, but would rather it should be of my own; though I should bear from a wife to be reproached for the greatest.¹

I have said all I can possibly say in answer to any part of your letter, and in telling you my clear opinion as to matters between us. I singled you out at first from the rest of women; and I expect not to be used like a common lover. When you think fit to send me an answer to this without ——, I shall then approve myself, by all means you shall command, Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

¹ The most opposite views have been taken of the terms of this letter, but two examples will suffice. Jeffreys says ("Edinburgh Review," xxvii, 28) that Swift exhibits in it "meanness, selfishness, and brutality," and writes "in the most insolent and hypocritical terms"; while Churton Collins ("Jonathan Swift," p. 36) thinks Swift acted "in every way honourably and straightforwardly," and "expresses himself in terms of chivalrous devotion." Varina died unmarried, but survived for many years, as appears from the grant of administration of her effects which was issued to her stepfather, Robert Greene, on behalf of her mother and sister Fenekin, on 2 November, 1720.

XIII. [*Faulkner.*]SWIFT TO BISHOP KING¹Dublin Castle, *July 16, 1700.*

MY LORD,

I WAS several times to wait on your Lordship at your lodgings; but you were either abroad, or so engaged, that I could not be permitted the honour to attend you. I have an humble request to your Lordship, that you will please to excuse me if I cannot be at the triennial visitation;² for my Lord and Lady continually residing at the Lodge, I am obliged to a constant attendance there.³ I am, with all respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

¹ William King, who as Archbishop of Dublin became one of Swift's most frequent correspondents, then held the see of Derry, to which he had been appointed nine years previously. Of the character of this great man, "the most illustrious of the Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation," his correspondence with Swift—a great deal of which has been hitherto unpublished—reveals fresh knowledge, and shows that his relations with Swift were of a more friendly kind than they have been represented. See for a very full notice of King's life Stokes, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-306, and *cf.* Professor Lawlor's memorial discourse in "*Peplographia Dublinensis.*"

² In the Church of Ireland prior to its disestablishment, the Archbishops visited the dioceses of their suffragans once in every three years. When this letter was written King was acting on one of these occasions for the Archbishop of Armagh, Michael Boyle, who had reached a patriarchal age, and, as the diocese of Meath lay within the province of Armagh, it would have been Swift's duty to attend King's visitation. Writing on 8 September, 1718, to his friend Bishop Stearne, who was then undertaking a similar duty, King says: "I doubt your Lordship had but little comfort in visiting the diocese of Meath. I am sure if it be as it was eighteen years ago there was little order in it" (King's Correspondence).

³ The Lodge was a Jacobean mansion in the village of Chapelizod, on the southern side of the Phoenix Park, which had been built by Henry Power, first Viscount Valentia. Some years after the Restoration it became the country house of the Viceroy, and there, in the midst of gardens which reminded him of his Dutch home, King William held his court after the battle of the Boyne—a circumstance which obtained for the viceregal residence the name of the King's House.

XIV. [*Deane Swift's Essay.*]

MRS. JONATHAN SWIFT TO DEANE SWIFT

August 10, 1703.

PRAY be pleased to present my best service to my good nephew Swift and tell him I always bear in my heart a grateful remembrance of all the kindness he was pleased to show my son.¹

XV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO THE REV. WILLIAM TISDALL

London, December 16, 1703.²

I PUT great violence on myself in abstaining all this

¹ This is a fragment of a letter addressed by Swift's mother to her nephew, Deane Swift, in Portugal (*supra*, pp. 10, n. 2 ; 11, n. 1). Swift has dwelt at length on his paternal ancestors ; but gives no information about those on his mother's side, omitting, it appears almost as if by design, the name of his maternal grandfather. All he tells us of his mother, Abigail Erick is, that she belonged to Leicestershire, and was descended from a most ancient family, which derived its lineage from Erick the Forester, a worthy of William the Conqueror's time. Recent research has, however, disclosed that in the first half of the seventeenth century there resided in Wigston Magna, four miles from Leicester, one Thomas Herrick—the name is spelt variously Herrick and Erick—who had a daughter called Abigail. Although the date of her baptism, 16 May, 1630, would make Swift's mother at the time of her death eighty instead of seventy as was recorded in the burial register, there seems to be no doubt that Thomas Herrick's daughter became the wife of Jonathan Swift, the steward of the King's Inns, and gave birth to his son. Thomas Herrick, who is described in the Wigston Magna register as a butcher, had four other children by his wife, Barbara Cooke: William, baptized 1628, Adam, baptized 1632, Thomas, baptized 1634, and Robert, baptized 1637. His son William became a prominent personage in Stamford in Lincolnshire, and his son Thomas was doubtless the Rev. Thomas Erick, who became the father-in-law of the Rev. John Kendall (*supra*, p. 3, n. 4). See the Rev. W. J. Dimock Fletcher "On Dean Swift's Mother," *Trans. of the Leicestershire Arch. and Archæol. Society*, v. 26 ; *Leicestershire and Rutland "N. and Q."* ii, 3, and "N. and Q.," IV, xi, 264, 435.

² Swift has recorded in an account book (Forster Collection,

while from treating you with politics.¹ I wish you had been here for ten days, during the highest and warmest reign of party and faction, that I ever knew or read of, upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity, which, two days ago, was, upon the first reading, rejected by the Lords.² It was so universal, that I observed the dogs in the streets much more contumelious and quarrelsome than usual; and the very night before the bill went up, a committee of Whig and Tory cats, had a very warm and loud debate upon the roof of our house. But why should we wonder at that, when the very ladies are split asunder into High Church and Low, and out of zeal for religion, have hardly time to say their prayers? The masks will have a crown more from any man of the other party, and count it a high point of merit to a member, who will not vote on their side. For the rest, the whole body of the clergy, with a great majority of the House of Commons, were violent

No. 505) that he left Ireland on Thursday, 11 November, 1703, and landed in England on the following Saturday. According to Lyons (*ibid.*, No. 579), Swift visited his mother at Leicester on his way to London, but if he did so he can only have stayed with her a few days, as it appears from a later letter that he had reached London before the great storm which raged on the 26th of that month. Swift had been in England, Lyons says, in 1701 from April to September, and in 1702 from April to October.

¹ Tisdall was, in his own estimation, one of the most successful controversialists of his day, and was vain enough to compare the effect produced in Ireland by tracts of his own on the question of conformity with the effect produced in England by "The Conduct of the Allies" ("Prose Works," ii, 437). He belonged to a family which has been seated at Charlesfort, in the county of Meath, for more than two centuries, and was a cousin of Philip Tisdall, popularly known as Black Phil, an eminent Irish lawyer and statesman of the eighteenth century, with whom he appears sometimes to be confused. Tisdall did not enter Trinity College, of which he became a Fellow, until Swift had left (the matriculation entry quoted in "Dict. Nat. Biog.," lvi, 416, refers to another person), and it was probably while at Kilroot, near which, as already noted, Tisdall's father lived (*supra*, p. 26 n. 1), that Swift made his acquaintance.

² It was the second occasion on which this bill framed to prevent persons qualifying for office by a formal acceptance of the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and attending afterwards dissenting places of worship, had been rejected by the Lords. The bill aroused the utmost feeling as, owing to the fact that those affected by it were generally Whigs, the interests not only of the Church but also of political parties were involved. Eight years later, on the fourth attempt and in a modified form, the bill became law.

for this bill. As great a majority of the Lords, amongst whom all the Bishops, but four, were against it. The Court and the rabble, as extremes often agree, were trimmers. I would be glad to know men's thoughts of it in Ireland; for myself, I am much at a loss, though I was mightily urged by some great people to publish my opinion. I cannot but think, if men's highest assurances are to be believed, that several, who were against this bill, do love the Church, and do hate or despise Presbytery. I put it close to my Lord Peterborough just as the bill was going up, who assured me in the most solemn manner, that if he had the least suspicion the rejecting this bill would hurt the Church, or do kindness to the Dissenters, he would lose his right hand rather than speak against it. The like profession I had from the Bishop of Salisbury, my Lord Somers, and some others; so that I know not what to think, and therefore shall think no more; and you will forgive my saying so much on a matter, that all our heads have been so full of, to a degree, that while it was on the anvil, nothing else was the subject of conversation.¹

I shall return in two months, in spite of my heart. I have here the best friends in nature, only want that little circumstance of favour and power; but nothing is so civil as a cast courtier. Pray let the ladies know I had their letter, and will answer it soon; and that I obeyed Mrs. Johnson's commands, and waited on her mother, and other friend. You may add, if you please, that they advise her clearly to be governed by her friends there about the renewing her lease, and she may have her mortgage taken up here whenever she pleases, for the payment of her fine; and that we have a project for putting out her money in a

¹ The avowal of the authorship of "The Contests of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome" ("Prose Works," i, 228) had gained for Swift the friendship of Peterborough, Burnet, and Somers. During the debate in the Lords, Burnet made an important speech, in which he urged the impolicy of religious persecution as invariably increasing the dissent it was designed to eradicate. The view taken by Peterborough has the support of both Hallam and Stanhope ("Hist. of Reign of Queen Anne," 3rd edition, p. 79), who think the practice of occasional conformity was of advantage to the Church. In the "Prose Works" Mr. Temple Scott has given a concise account of Peterborough in vol. v, at p. 78; of Burnet in vol. iii, at p. 128; and of Somers in vol. i, at p. 29, and has treated there as well as elsewhere of their relations with Swift.

certain lady's hands for annuities, if the Parliament goes on with them, and she likes it.¹

I will teach you a way to outwit Mrs. Johnson: it is a new-fashioned way of being witty, and they call it a *bite*.² You must ask a bantering question, or tell some damned lie in a serious manner, and then she will answer or speak as if you were in earnest; and then cry you, "Madam, there's a *bite*." I would not have you undervalue this, for it is the constant amusement in Court, and everywhere else among the great people; and I let you know it, in order to have it obtain among you, and teach a new refinement.

XVI. [*Hawkesworth and Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE REV. WILLIAM TISDALL

London, *February 3, 1703-4.*

I AM content you should judge the order of friendship you are in with me by my writing to you, and accordingly you will find yourself the first after the ladies;³ for I never write to any other, either friend or relation, till long after. I cannot imagine what paragraph you mean in my former, that was calculated for Lord Primate; or how you could show it him without being afraid he might expect to see the rest.⁴ But I will take better methods another time, and you shall never, while you live, receive a syllable from me fit to be shown a Lord Primate, unless it be yourself.

¹ Two years previously Stella had come to live in Ireland with her friend Rebecca Dingley. The lease referred to had doubtless connection with the property bequeathed to her by Sir William Temple in these words: "I leave a lease of some lands I have in Morristown in the county of Wicklow in Ireland to Esther Johnson servant to my sister Giffard." It is Lady Giffard to whom Swift alludes under the designation of "a certain lady."

² A form of practical joking that the Oxford English Dictionary says would now be called in popular phraseology "a sell."

³ It would appear from this reference that Swift had begun before that time the practice of addressing his letters to both Stella and her companion after the manner of the *Journal to Stella*.

⁴ The preceding letter was certainly written in a style little fitted to accord with the mind of a man like Primate Marsh (*supra*, p. 13, n. 2), and Swift might well resent Tisdall's indiscretion.

Montaigne was angry to see his *Essays* lie in the parlour window, and therefore wrote a chapter that forced the ladies to keep it in their closets.¹ After some such manner I shall henceforth use you in my letters, by making them fit to be seen by none but yourself.

I am extremely concerned to find myself unable to persuade you into a true opinion of your own littleness, nor make you treat me with more distance and respect; and the rather, because I find all your little pretensions are owing to the credit you pretend with two ladies who came from England. I allow indeed the chamber in William Street to be Little England by their influence,² as an ambassador's house, wherever it is, hath all the privileges of his master's dominions: and, therefore, if you wrote the letter in their room, or their company, for in this matter their room is as good as their company, I will indulge you a little. Then for the Irish legs you reproach me with, I defy you. I had one indeed when I left your island; but that which made it Irish is spent and evaporate, and I look upon myself now as upon a new foot. You seem to talk with great security of your establishment near the ladies, though, perhaps, if you knew what they say of you in their letters to me, you would change your opinion both of them and yourself. A *bite*—and now you talk of a *bite*, I am ashamed of the ladies' being caught by you, when I had betrayed you, and given them warning. I had heard before of the choking, but never of the jest in the church: you may find from thence that women's prayers are things

¹ The passage to which Swift alludes occurs in Montaigne's *Essais*, Livre III, chap. v, *Sur des vers de Virgile*: "Je m'ennuye que mes *Essais* servent les dames de meuble commun seulement, et de meuble de sale: ce chapitre me fera du cabinet." Professor Dowden has pointed out to me that Swift's knowledge of Montaigne was probably derived from Cotton's translation published in 1685, where the words are thus translated: "I am vex'd that my *Essays* only serve the *Ladies* for a common moveable, a Book to lye in the Parlour Window; this Chapter shall prefer me to the Closet."

² William Street lies on the southern side of Dublin, midway between Trinity College and St. Patrick's Cathedral, and is now devoted to commerce. It was formerly residential, and a mansion of great beauty built by an ancestor of Viscount Powerscourt is still to be seen in it (see "The Georgian Society Records," *Dubl.*, 1909, vol. i, *passim*). At the time of this letter the street was surrounded by fields, and as it owes its name to the victory of the Boyne, can have consisted of little more than a few houses.

perfectly by rote, as they put on one stocking after another, and no more. But, if she be good at blunders, she is as ready at come-offs; and to pretend her senses were gone, was a very good argument she had them about her. You seem to be mighty proud, as you have reason if it be true, of the part you have in the ladies' good graces, especially of her you call the *party*. I am very much concerned to know it; but, since it is an evil I cannot remedy, I will tell you a story. A cast mistress went to her rival, and expostulated with her for robbing her of her lover. After a long quarrel, finding no good to be done; "Well," says the abdicated lady, "keep him, and *****" — "No," says the other, "that will not be altogether so convenient; however, to oblige you, I will do something that is very near it." — *Dixi*.

I am mightily afraid the ladies are very idle, and do not mind their book. Pray put them upon reading; and be always teaching something to Mrs. Johnson, because she is good at comprehending, remembering, and retaining. I wonder she could be so wicked as to let the first word she could speak, after choking, be a pun. I differ from you; and believe the pun was just coming up, but met with the crumbs, and so, struggling for the wall, could neither of them get by, and at last came both out together. It is a pleasant thing to hear you talk of Mrs. Dingley's¹ blunders, when she has sent me a list with above a dozen of yours, that have kept me alive, and I hope will do so till I have them again from the fountain-head. I desire Mrs. Johnson only to forbear punning after the Finglas rate when Dilly was at home.²

¹ Rebecca Dingley, of whom Sheridan draws ("Life," p. 306), probably with slight foundation, a very unattractive picture, was a kinswoman of Sir William Temple. She was no doubt a near relation of the Rev. William Dingley, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, whom Temple describes in his will as his cousin, and who belonged to the Isle of Wight family, from which the eminent seventeenth-century antiquary, Thomas Dingley, traced descent. They appear to have been related to Temple through the Hammonds, his mother's family.

² The Rev. Dillon Ashe, familiarly known as Dilly, was Vicar of Finglas, a parish about three miles to the north of Dublin. He had been at College with Swift, and was a brother of St George Ashe, then Bishop of Clogher, who had been Swift's college tutor, and is the reputed celebrant of the disputed marriage ceremony between Swift

I thank you for your bill, which was a cunning piece of civility to prevent me from wanting. However, I shall buy hats for you and Tom Leigh: for I have lately a bill of twenty pounds sent me for myself, and shall take up ten more here. I saw Tom Leigh's brother in the Court of Requests, and, knowing him to be your friend, I talked with him; and we will take some occasion to drink your health together, and Tom Leigh's.¹ I will not buy you any pamphlets, unless you will be more particular in telling me their names or their natures, because they are usually the vilest things in nature. Leslie has written several of late, violent against Presbyterians and Low Churchmen.² If I had credit enough with you, you should never write but upon some worthy subject, and with long thought. But I look

and Stella. There are many allusions to Dilly's punning propensities in the *Journal to Stella* as well as to his love of claret and inconsistency in connection with his marriage to a lady whom Swift prophesied would "govern like a lion." Three months before the date of this letter his brother had given him the archdeaconry of Clogher, to which a cure of souls was attached, and was proceeding to add to his charge another parish eighteen miles in length, when Archbishop King informed his brother prelate that reflections on the matter had reached him. The Archbishop expected Ashe to resign Finglas, which he had promised to the poet Parnell, who had been his ward; but the question was settled by Ashe's resigning the archdeaconry to Parnell and holding Finglas, together with the lengthy parish which was sixty miles from it and the chancellorships of Clogher and Armagh Cathedrals, which were thrown in as a compensation for the loss of the archdeaconry (King's Correspondence). A sermon preached by Ashe that year on the anniversary of the Martyrdom of Charles I—the only effort of his in print—may have been helpful to him in carrying through this arrangement as the sermon left little to be desired in its orthodoxy or admiration of the government of the day (Royal Irish Academy Tracts).

¹ Tom and Jemmy Leigh, who are frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, belonged to a co. Louth family held in grateful memory for its endowment of the "Leigh Charity" in Drogheda. James Leigh, who "loved London mightily," was a landowner residing at Walterstown, near Dundalk, and Enoch Stearne, with whom we see him in company, was married to his stepdaughter. Thomas Leigh, "a coxcomb," who found Swift could fret as well as be fretted, was a clergyman, then holding a minor canonry in St. Patrick's Cathedral and a living in the diocese of Armagh.

² On questions of Church and State there was little sympathy between Swift and the well-known non-juror Charles Leslie; but Leslie's "good learning and sense, discovered upon other subjects," says Swift, writing in the "*Examiner*," "do indeed deserve respect and esteem" ("*Prose Works*," ix, 85).

upon you as under a terrible mistake, if you imagine you cannot be enough distinguished without writing for the public. Preach, preach, preach, preach, preach, preach; that is certainly your talent; and you will some years hence have time enough to be a writer. I tell you what I am content you should do: choose any subject you please, and write for your private diversion, or by way of trial; but be not hasty to write for the world.¹ Besides, who that has a spirit would write in such a scene as Ireland? You and I will talk an hour on these matters. I have been so long and so frequently pursued with a little paltry ailment of a noise in my ears that I could never get humour and time to answer your letter. Pox on the Dissenters and Independents! I would as soon trouble my head to write against a louse or a flea. I tell you what; I wrote against the Bill that was against Occasional Conformity; but it came too late by a day, so I would not print it. But you may answer it if you please; for you know you and I are Whig and Tory. And, to cool your insolence a little, know that the Queen and Court, and House of Lords, and half the Commons almost, are Whigs; and the number daily increases.²

I desire my humble service to the Primate, whom I have not written to, having not had opportunity to perform that business he employed me in; but shall soon, now the days are longer. We are all here in great impatience at the King of Spain's delay, who yet continues in the Isle of Wight.³

¹ This advice showed much discernment on Swift's part. At that time Archbishop King had formed, like Swift, great expectations of Tisdall's future in the Church (King's Correspondence, 27 April, 1703), but Tisdall became completely absorbed in the polemics of that time, to which he contributed five tracts; and as he took the most extreme High Church and Tory view, he found himself stranded when the Whigs came into power.

² The words from "I have been" to "daily increases" was the only portion of this letter printed by Hawkesworth. Sheridan printed the letter but omitted the words "I have been" to "your letter." The whole letter first appeared in Scott's edition of the Correspondence.

³ The Archduke Charles, whose cause England was upholding, had spent five days in that country, during which he had a remarkable experience of the bad roads of that period. He embarked at Portsmouth for Lisbon on 31 December, 1703, but owing to a tempest or other causes did not finally leave until 12 February (Wyon's "Hist. of Reign of Queen Anne," i, 239).

My humble service to Dean Ryves,¹ Dilly, Jones,² and other friends. And I assure you nobody can possibly be more, or I believe is half so entirely, yours, as

J. S.

XVII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO THE REV. WILLIAM TISDALL

London, *April* 20, 1704.

YESTERDAY coming from the country I found your letter, which had been four or five days arrived, and by neglect was not forwarded as it ought. You have got three epithets for my former letter, which I believe are all unjust: you say it was unfriendly, unkind, and unaccountable. The two first, I suppose, may pass but for one; saving, as Captain Fluellin says the phrase is, "a little variations."³ I shall therefore answer those two as I can; and for the last, I return it you again by these presents, assuring you, that there is more unaccountability in your letter's little finger, than in mine's whole body. And one strain I observe in it, which is frequent enough; you talk in a mystical sort of

¹ Jerome Ryves, Dean of St. Patrick's, had been appointed to that dignity five years previously, and died at an early age in the following year. He was loved and valued by Archbishop King, who was no less afflicted than surprised at the news of his death (King's Correspondence, 10 February, 1703-4). His family had been much identified with the legal profession, and his grandfather and eldest brother had been members of the Irish judicial bench (see pedigree of the Ryves family, by G. D. Burtchaell, in "The Irish Builder," vol. xxx, p. 139).

² Some question has been raised as to the identity of Jones, but there is no doubt that the reference is to the reciter of the famous "Tripos." The Rev. John Jones, D.D., as he had become, was then the owner of one of the principal schools in Dublin, which he carried on in a disused church called St. Michael le Pole—a location to which an adjacent round tower lent dignity and the interment of the dead some inconvenience ("The Irish Builder," xxxviii, 187, 196). Jones held in addition church preferment, including the precentorship of Kildare Cathedral. He died in 1715. It appears from his wills (two were proved, one dated 11 September, 1708, the other 1 February, 1714-5) that he was never married.

³ "Why, I pray you, is not pig, great? The pig, or the great, or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variations" (Henry V, iv, 7).

way, as if you would have me believe I had some great design, and that you had found it out: your phrases are, that my letter had the effect you judge I designed; that you are amazed to reflect on what you judge the cause of it: and wish it may be in your power to love and value me while you live, &c.¹

In answer to all this, I might with good pretence enough talk starchy, and affect ignorance of what you would be at; but my conjecture is, that you think I obstructed your insinuations, to please my own, and that my intentions were the same with yours; in answer to all which, I will, upon my conscience and honour, tell you the naked truth. First, I think I have said to you before, that, if my fortunes and humour served me to think of that state, I should certainly, among all persons on earth, make your choice; because I never saw that person whose conversation I entirely valued but hers; this was the utmost I ever gave way to. And, secondly, I must assure you sincerely, that this regard of mine never once entered into my head to be an impediment to you: but I judged it would, perhaps, be a clog to your rising in the world; and I did not conceive you were then rich enough to make yourself and her happy and easy. But that objection is now quite removed by what you have at present, and by the assurances of Eaton's livings.² I told you indeed, that your authority was not sufficient to make overtures to the mother, without the daughter's giving me leave, under her own or her friend's hand; which, I think, was a right and a prudent step. However, I told the mother immediately, and spoke with all the advantages you deserve. But, the objection of your fortune being removed, I declare I have no other; nor shall any consideration of my own misfortune of losing so good a friend and companion as her, prevail on me, against her interest and settlement in the world, since it is held so necessary and convenient a thing

¹ During the two months that had elapsed since the preceding letter was written, Tisdall had evidently communicated to Swift his desire to marry Stella, and Swift had replied deprecating Tisdall's suit principally on the ground of prudence.

² This reference is to the Rev. Richard Eaton, who was beneficed in co. Donegal, and was Rector of the parish in which the town of Dunfanaghy is situated, a living which, before the disestablishment of the Irish Church, was in the gift of Trinity College, Dublin. Administration of Eaton's goods was granted to his children on 9 November, 1705.

for ladies to marry; and that time takes off from the lustre of virgins in all other eyes but mine.

I appeal to my letters to herself, whether I was your friend or no in the whole concern; though the part I designed to act in it was purely passive, which is the utmost I will ever do in things of this nature, to avoid all reproach of any ill consequence, that may ensue in the variety of worldly accidents. Nay, I went so far both to her mother, herself, and I think to you, as to think it could not be decently broken; since I supposed the town had got it in their tongues, and therefore I thought it could not miscarry without some disadvantage to the lady's credit. I have always described her to you in a manner different from those, who would be discouraging; and must add, that though it hath come in my way to converse with persons of the first rank, and of that sex, more than is usual to men of my level, and of our function; yet I have nowhere met with a humour, a wit, or conversation so agreeable, a better portion of good sense, or a truer judgement of men and things, I mean here in England; for as to the ladies of Ireland, I am a perfect stranger. As to her fortune, I think you know it already; and if you resume your designs, and would have farther intelligence, I shall send you a particular account.

I give you joy of your good fortunes, and envy very much your prudence and temper, and love of peace and settlement; the reverse of which has been the great uneasiness of my life, and is like to continue so. And what is the result? *En, quis consevimus agros!* I find nothing but the good words and wishes of a decayed Ministry, whose lives and mine will probably wear out before they can serve either my little hopes, or their own ambition. Therefore I am resolved suddenly to retire, like a discontented courtier, and vent myself in study and speculation, till my own humour, or the scene here, shall change.¹

¹ In the opinion of Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 152), this letter had "the desired effect of closing the episode." According to Deane Swift ("Essay," p. 94), impossible conditions imposed by Swift, such as that Tisdall should reside in Dublin and keep a coach for his wife, were the cause of the match being broken off, and relying upon this statement Johnson has imputed to Swift the most disingenuous conduct. Sheridan says ("Life," p. 301) that the refusal came from Stella herself, who, he thinks, may at first have encouraged Tisdall's

XVIII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

Trim,¹ December 31, 1704.

MY LORD,

I DID intend to have waited on your Grace before you went for England; but, hearing your voyage is fixed for the first opportunity of the wind, I could not forbear giving you a few minutes interruption, which I hope your Grace will believe to be without any other design than that of serving you. I believe your Grace may have heard, that I was in England last winter, when the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church had, I think, with great wisdom and discretion, chosen a most malicious, ignorant, and headstrong creature to represent them: wherein your Grace cannot justly tax their prudence, since the cause they are engaged in is not otherwise to be supported.² And I do assure your

advances "with a view to sound Swift's sentiments." Whatever terminated Tisdall's courtship did not prevent his continuing on terms of apparent friendship with both Swift and Stella, although always mentioned by the former with "some epithet of scorn." Tisdall, who married a Miss Morgan and became Vicar of Belfast and Rector of Drumcree, in the diocese of Armagh, was not, however, as has been stated, a witness of Swift's will, his death having taken place some years before it was signed. His will is dated 13 May, 1732, and was proved 23 July, 1736.

¹ Swift had returned to Ireland on 1 June. Forster says ("Life," p. 131) that it was Swift's tenth voyage between the two countries, but it would appear that this is a mistake for sixteenth, which Lyons mentions (Forster Collection, No. 579) as the number. Fourteen voyages are known: two occasioned by his being taken to England by his nurse, six by his three visits to Temple, and six by his visits to England in 1701, 1702, 1703.

² It has been said that for forty-five years of his life Archbishop King was continuously a litigant, either as plaintiff or defendant, in the Ecclesiastical Courts (Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 180), and no sooner had he been appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin than he became involved in a suit with the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral about his right of visitation. In the eighteenth century the deanery was always held by the Bishop of Kildare, and the fact that the occupant of that see, William Moreton, who had ordained Swift, held views diametrically opposed to those of King has been thought to have accentuated the contention (*Ibid.*, p. 212). But King considered the real as well as nominal author of the proceedings to have been the Prebendary in whose name they were taken, the Rev. John Clayton,



STELLA'S COTTAGE, MOOR PARK, SURREY
From a woodcut in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum

Grace, which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling you, that they have not been without success. For not only the general run in Doctors' Commons was wholly on their side, which my Lord Bishop of Cloyne¹ observed as well as I; but that little instrument of theirs did use all his power to misrepresent your Grace, and your cause, both in town and city, as far as his narrow sphere could reach. And he spared not to say, that your Grace had personal resentment against him; that you sought his ruin, and threatened him with it.² And I remember at a great man's table, who has as much influence in England as any subject can well have, after dinner came in a Master in Chancery, whom I had before observed to be a principal person in Doctors' Commons, when your Grace's cause was there debating; and, upon occasion of my being there, fell into discourse of it, wherein he seemed wholly an advocate for Christ Church: for all his arguments were only a chain of misinformations, which he had learned from the same

the father of a Bishop of Clogher in later times, whose orthodoxy was called in question, and wrote to a friend that the Bishop of Kildare had given himself over to Clayton's influence in opposition to the rest of the Chapter (King's Correspondence, 15 August, 1704). Clayton, who had spent some part of his life in Virginia, had come to Ireland with Charles, second Duke of Bolton on his appointment as a Lord Justice, and is said by King to have played an unworthy part in connection with that nobleman's marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's daughter. A factious disposition and the delivery of "odd fantastical discourses" did not add to his popularity with his diocesan (*Ibid.*, 29 August). There are two pamphlets by him on the Roman Catholic controversy in Trinity College Library. In one of these there are some particulars of his life. It is to Clayton that Swift refers when he is writing of the representative of the Chapter.

¹ Charles Crow, who held that see from 1702 until his death in 1726, and who has left the reputation of being a man of great generosity. His personality does not seem to have attracted Swift. ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*).

² In a letter already cited, Archbishop King wrote: "Mr. Clayton when in London last winter made it his business to go from coffee-house to coffee-house and make me and his cause the subject of his discourses there; he went to all persons of note to whom he could have access and made very free with my person and reputation." From subsequent letters it appears that a libellous pamphlet was published by Clayton against King, in addition to one of which the Bishop of Kildare appears to have been the author, entitled, "An Account of the Innovations made by the Archbishop of Dublin both in respect of his entrance on the Archbishoprick and in regard of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church" (King's Correspondence).

hand; insomuch as I was forced to give a character of some persons, which otherwise I should have spared, before I could set him right, as I also did in the affair of the late Dean of Derry, which had been told with so many falsehoods and disadvantages to your Grace, as it is hard to imagine.¹ I humbly presume to say thus much to your Grace, that, knowing the prejudices that have been given, you may more easily remove them, which your presence will infallibly do.

I would also beg of your Grace to use some of your credit toward bringing to a good issue the promise the Queen made, at my Lord Bishop of Cloyne's intercession, to remit the first fruits and tenths of the clergy; unless I speak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your Grace of is, that the crown rent should be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a considerable help to others. And I am confident, with some reason, that it would be easily granted; being, I hear, under a thousand pounds a year, and the Queen's grant for England being so much more considerable than ours can be at best.² I am very certain, that, if the Bishop of Cloyne had continued to solicit it in England, it would easily have passed; but, his Lordship giving it up wholly to the Duke of Ormond, I believe it hath not been thought of so much as it ought.³ I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the

¹ This reference is to Dean Bolton's predecessor, Coote Ormsby, who was evidently not in his right mind. He accused King of having on one occasion snatched the verge from its bearer and broken it "with strange and passionate expressions" when the Dean and Chapter of Derry Cathedral went to conduct him to the vestry, an accusation every syllable of which King said was false (King's Correspondence, 20 May, 1699 *et passim*).

² The extension of Queen Anne's bounty to Ireland never ceased to be a subject of solicitude to Swift until by his influence it was accomplished seven years later.

³ James, second Duke of Ormond, had been for nearly two years Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is said that Swift was his chaplain, and that Swift's intimacy with the Duke and his family, so often referred to in the Journal to Stella, dated from that time, but this reference, as well as the fact that Swift was in England for a portion of the time that the Duke was in Ireland, seems to me to throw doubt on the statement. The Duke is one of the few persons of whom Swift has invariably spoken well, and the tribute which he pays to him in "An Enquiry into the Behaviour of Queen Anne's Last Ministry" is

haste and hurry of this, occasioned by that of the post, which is not very regular in this country; and, imploring your blessing, and praying to God for your good voyage, success, and return, I humbly kiss your Grace's hands, and remain, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

XIX. [Copy.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

London, 30 January, 1704-5.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED the favour of yours of the 31st December last and am very much obliged to you for the concern you took in my affair of which I have had information from several hands. I am satisfied that great industry has been used to misrepresent me and my cause here; and that those employed to do me ill offices have not been altogether unsuccessful. It was so in Dublin till my cause was heard, but I think I left everybody possessed of another opinion,² and believe it will quickly be so here. I reached London on the 13th instant, and have in effect been ever since confined by the gout which has been a great hindrance to my affairs, but I hope it is near over.³ It is no small misfortune for us in Ireland to have our causes judged here by persons that neither understand or regard our affairs. For an instance of this, I do find that neither

not a little remarkable. ("Prose Works," v, 428, but cf. Mr. Temple Scott's estimate of the Duke's abilities (*ibid.*, p. 14, n. 1).

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² Writing on 19 December, King says that there had been one hearing before the Duke of Ormond and three before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland about a petition lodged by Clayton, and that he had succeeded in disproving the statements made by his opponents (King's Correspondence).

³ Archbishop King was a life-long sufferer from gout; on leaving Dublin University he became chaplain to the Archbishop of Tuam, and he attributed his complaint to "a too sudden transition from the sparse commons and extremely light beer of Trinity College in the year 1674 to the plentiful table and abundant wines of an archbishop's house" (Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 290). It was his custom to make a triennial pilgrimage to Bath.

stationers' shops, public or private libraries can furnish so much as the statutes or canons of Ireland, though I have made a very diligent search for them, and I do now find that the reason my adversaries desire to be judged here, is in hopes their cause will never be understood, but that will not serve their turn. As to their prints they have a very different effect on all I have discoursed, from what they designed. I shall be able to give a better account when my commission is returned and opened. I am not very fond of saying any thing till I have full vouchers; and then their falsehoods will turn to their shame.

As to the twentieth parts and first fruits, I am not as yet to meddle in that affair. I suppose it must be done in Parliament as it was in England. I doubt not but his Grace the Duke of Ormond thinks of it, and will make it his act as far as it can be. As to the crown rents they are a much greater burden than the other; twentieth parts and first fruits are not more than a thousand pounds per annum, but the crown rents are of greater value. I have a book of them, and the matter being in my thoughts before I left Dublin, I ordered my servants to put up it and the book of first fruits to bring along with me, but my servants left the first behind them. I spoke to his Grace the Duke of Ormond about them, and if what I said be seconded I hope we may see some effects of it, though I am a little afraid to ask too much. Mr. Dean Reader¹ designs soon to come over. I intend to write to him to bring my paper with him.

It is not safe for me to be too busy, but you may assure yourself and all your brethren, that no endeavours that I judge useful to them shall be wanting on my part. I recommend you to God's care, and am etc.

W. DUBLIN.

Dr. Jonathan Swift.

¹ The Rev. Enoch Reader, who was both Dean of Emly and Archdeacon of Dublin. He and his brother Richard enjoyed much Church preferment. They were sons of a former occupant of the civic chair in Dublin.

XX. [Draft.¹]

SWIFT AND DEAN READER TO ARCHBISHOP KING

March 22, 1704-5.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

YOUR Chapter of St. Patrick's have given us instructions to present to you our new elected Dean in order to receive the usual confirmation. For the particulars of the election we crave leave to refer you to the enclosed papers, being the *decretum electionis*. We doubt not but that your Grace will give all reasonable dispatch to this affair, which seems to be very necessary in this juncture.²

We are, may it please your Grace, your most obedient humble servants

ENOCH READER,³
JONATHAN SWIFT.

MY LORD,

We and most of the Chapter are of opinion that if your Grace were here in person, you would not by any means take the subscription of the other party,⁴ or at least not until the person we have elected were in full possession, because there may be arts used by lawyers to disturb

¹ The draft is in the possession of Dean Bernard, and the letter was first printed by him in "The Church of Ireland Gazette," 11 December, 1908.

² Swift had been collated on 28 September, 1700, to the prebend of Dunlavin in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, which had been held also by his predecessor at Laracor, and as he resided then a good deal in Dublin, where he had always lodgings, Swift soon made his influence felt in the Chapter. This letter refers to the appointment of a successor to Dean Ryves (*supra*, p. 45, n. 1). In his room the Chapter had elected John Stearne, afterwards Bishop of Clogher, and were anxious for an immediate confirmation of his election lest there should be interference on the part of the Crown, whose right to nominate under certain circumstances was undisputed, and had been exercised in the case of the previous four vacancies.

³ *Supra*, p. 52, n. 1.

⁴ The Government were desirous that Edward Synge, who became Archbishop of Tuam, should be appointed, and this reference is to him.

possessions, of which we have not been without some hints given us. We cannot explain ourselves further at this distance, and therefore we leave it to your Grace's great prudence.

Endorsed:—Letter to the Archbishop about the deanery of St. Patrick's; March 22, 1704-5.

XXI. [*Copy.*¹]

SWIFT TO JOHN TEMPLE

Dublin, 15 *June*, 1706.

SIR,

I DEFERRED acknowledging the favour of your letter till Mr. Ashenhurst and I had got an answer from the College. We both were of opinion to venture offering twenty pounds increase of rent for the lease of Clones, which we might safely do, upon the tenants themselves offering somewhat above thirty pounds. As to the lease of Armagh, Mr. Ashenhurst could make no offer, having received no return, though he says he has often writ for it.² He tells me he has given you an account of the answer from the College, and the Provost and Fellows gave it me separately before. Neither did I expect any other, for you know there is an Act obliging them not to sell under half-value, which though it be not observed very exactly, yet where the difference is very great, their successors may certainly make the lease void.

¹ In the Forster Collection. The second and third paragraphs of this letter as well as the postscript were printed by Forster ("Life," p. 181).

² This letter is addressed to a nephew of Sir William Temple, the second son of Sir William's younger brother, Sir John Temple, who was for an unexampled time a law officer of Ireland, and who was said by Archbishop Sheldon to have the curse of the Gospel because all men spoke well of him. John Temple married his uncle's grandchild—one of the two daughters of Sir William's unfortunate son, whose tragical end cast a shadow over the opening days of the reign of William and Mary—and succeeded his uncle at Moor Park. The leases were of lands belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, whose property was then, as it has been until the present day, mainly leased to middlemen, and had been held by Sir William Temple, who bequeathed the lease of Armagh to his sister, Lady Giffard, and that of Clones to his nephew, John Temple.

However, I am of opinion that they will not stand altogether to the height of those returns they have shown us, provided we offer some considerable advance of rent. But this we cannot possibly do till we have also received some account to be depended upon of the real value of the lands, which Mr. Ashenhurst will endeavour to get by writing to the Receiver of the lands at Clones, and will desire him to do the same for those of Armagh, though we doubt whether he be so well qualified for the latter. However, it will do well to try; and you have time till next Michaelmas, after which the Provost tells Mr. Ashenhurst that they will expect an increase of the fine. But if that man cannot send Mr. Ashenhurst such an account as may be depended upon, I know not what you will do. You mistook my advice when you supposed I meant that a man should be sent down to take a survey of the lands. That would indeed be a matter of expense, though I think if you and all gentlemen had such a thing you would find your accounts in it. What I designed was only to get somebody to go down there for ten days and pick out the quantity and quality of the land in general, and how it is let in the neighbourhood which could not be a business of above three or four pounds; and this is what Mr. Reading and Mr. Rotton thought absolutely necessary; and so you must do at last, unless we can get such an account as we desire some other way.¹

It is an advantage to you that land in this kingdom was never lower than now—I mean where it is far from Dublin; and therefore, if you have a fair return, you cannot well be a loser whenever we have peace. Nothing can be righter than your opinion not to let your lands at a rack-rent. They that live at your distance from their estates would be undone if they did it, especially in such an uncertain

¹ The persons referred to in connection with the negotiations were either friends or men of business of the Temple family. Ralph Ashenhurst leaves in his will (dated 15 April, 1705, and proved on the 30th of that month) a remembrance to William Yarner, a kinsman of John Temple through his mother, and Daniel Reading, who represented Newcastle, a pocket borough in the county of Dublin, mentions in his will (dated 31 January, 1725-6, and proved 28 July following) the kindness shown to him "when a fugitive in England at the time of the happy Revolution" by "the then great Sir William Temple and his family." John Rotton was a brother-in-law of Stearne the then lately elected Dean of St. Patrick's. His will is dated 12 November, 1709, and was proved 14 July, 1713.

country as this. Therefore I should advise you to let it so easily to your under-tenants, when you renew, that they may be able to repay your part of your fine, and then your rent is secure. If you have thoughts of selling it, your best way will be to offer it among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood that will give most; but I hope you will consider it a little longer, or else you may be in danger of selling you know not what, which will be as bad as buying so. I forgot to tell you that no accounts from your tenants can be relied on. If they paid you but a pepper-corn a year, they would be readier to ask abatement than offer to advance. It is the universal maxim throughout the kingdom. I have known them fling up a lease, and the next day give a fine to have it again. It has not been known in the memory of men that an Irish tenant ever once spoke truth to his landlord.¹

Mr. Elwood, one of the Fellows of the College,² was recommended by Sir William Robinson³ to your bro-

¹ Through the courtesy of Mr. F. D. Darley, the law agent of Trinity College, Dublin, I have found that in the following year a lease of the lands of Slutmulrone, near Clones, in the county of Fermanagh, on which Rosslea Manor now stands, was executed by the College authorities in favour of John Temple for a term of twenty-one years at an annual rent for the first seven years of £80, and for the remaining fourteen years of £110.

² John Elwood, who obtained fellowship as a jurist, was sometime Vice-Provost and one of the representatives of the University of Dublin in the Irish Parliament. His character may be gathered from lines by a contemporary who says he will aspire to be a Fellow

“When lazy Elwood in his gown secure
Reads, prays, drinks not, and is no Epicure.”

(Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 329.)

³ Sir William Robinson was then one of the representatives of the University in Parliament, and had previously sat successively for the boroughs of Knocktopher and Wicklow. For the last quarter of the seventeenth century he held the office of Director-General and Overseer of the Fortifications and Buildings in Ireland, where his architectural skill may still be seen in Marsh's Library, which he designed for its founder (*supra*, p. 13, n. 2). He was attached to King William's army as a Commissary-General, and subsequently became Receiver-General of Ireland, as well as Keeper of the Irish Parliament House. The knighthood which was conferred on him by William III has led to his being confounded with Sir William Robinson of Newby, an ancestor of the Marquis of Ripon. He was married, but left no children and in his will (dated 13 October, 1712, and proved 29 November following) he says that he is utterly ignorant of any relation near

ther¹ for a small favour. It is to promise him the grant of a certain room in the College which is in Mr. Temple's disposal, whenever it shall be vacant, or whenever Mr. Elwood can persuade the present owner to sell it him. It is a thing of no value to Mr. Temple, and he cannot dispose of it better than to one of the Fellows; and Mr. Elwood is a very worthy person, and when he comes to be Senior Fellow, it may be in his power to be serviceable to you; and he will take it for a great obligation. Pray use your power with your brother to bring this to pass, and be so kind to present him my most humble service.

I am extremely obliged by your kind invitation to Moor Park, which no time will make me forget and love less.² If I love Ireland better than I did, it is because we are nearer related, for I am deeply allied to its poverty. My little revenue is sunk two parts in three, and the third in arrear. Therefore if I come to Moor Park it must be on foot; but there comes another difficulty, that I carry double the flesh you saw about me at London, to which I have no manner of title, having neither purchased it by luxury nor good humour. I did not think Mr. Percival and I had agreed so well in our opinion of Ireland. I believe it is the only public opinion we agree in, else I should have had more of his company here, for I always loved him very well as a man of very good understanding and humour.³ But Whig and Tory has spoiled all that was tolerable here, by mixing

or remote. A few years before his death, after he had become a widower, rumour married him to Vanessa's mother. From his letters, many of which are extant, he would appear to have been a gay Lothario as well as a devotee to Bacchus, whose joy was a bottle of good wine "to besprinkle in remembrance all his true friends." (See Clarke Correspondence in Trinity College Library, and Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland.)

¹ Henry Temple, who was afterwards created Viscount Palmerston in the Irish peerage, and who is remarkable as having been appointed Chief Remembrancer of Ireland before he had left the nursery. ("Prose Works," vi, 106.)

² These words are made use of by Forster ("Life," p. 89) to refute the assertions of Macaulay and others, that the period of Swift's residence at Moor Park was his time of greatest misery.

³ John Percival of Knightsbrook, in the parish of Laracor, who was then M.P. for the borough of Granard, and subsequently for that of Trim. Four years previously Swift had found that this obtuse politician knew how to play picquet (Forster's "Life," p. 269), and when the days of the Journal to Stella came Percival was, of course, held in high favour.

with private friendship and conversation, and mining both; though it seems to me full as pertinent to quarrel about Copernicus and Ptolemy, as about my Lord Treasurer and Lord Rochester, at least for any private man, and especially in our remote scene. I am sorry we begin to resemble England only in its defects. About seven years ago frogs were imported here, and thrive very well; and three years after, a certain great man brought over Whig and Tory which suit the soil admirably.¹ But my paper is at an end before I am aware. I desire my most humble service to your lady and remain, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I was desired by a person of quality to get him a few cuttings of the Arbois and Burgundy vines mentioned by Sir William Temple in his *Essay on Gardening*, because they ripen the easiest of any.² Pray be so kind to order

¹ The reference is apparently to Lord Rochester, who arrived in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in September, 1701, and left in the following January. As appears from this passage, as well as from a similar one in the "Considerations about Maintaining the Poor," Swift was under the impression that frogs had been introduced into Ireland by man. It was believed in his time that Ireland was overspread with these creatures through frog spawn brought from England at the end of the seventeenth century by a Dublin physician, and thrown into the ditches by which the College park was then intersected. (Cf. "Prose Works," vii, 340 n., and the "Tatler," No. 236.) But Dr. Scharff, the Keeper of the Natural History Museum of Ireland, has argued ("The Irish Naturalist," ii, 1) that frogs are indigenous to the country, and in regard to the story of their importation by the Dublin physician, says that they are more likely to have overspread the country from the west than from the east, where they are less abundant. In a letter to myself he adds: "Since I wrote my paper, our cave researches have entirely supported my view, for we have found frog remains in all the layers, even in company with those of reindeer and other animals long since extinct in Ireland."

² Temple mentions these vines in connection with out-of-door culture, which Mr. F. W. Moore, the Keeper of the Royal Botanic Gardens of Ireland, tells me has never been a success in Ireland, although a few imperfect bunches have been occasionally produced in favoured situations. He writes: "Some of the French vines had a reputation of being hardier than the greenhouse vines, and undoubtedly were so, but owing to the absence of summer and autumn sun-heat they rarely matured their produce. A very poor class of wine was produced at one time in the warmer districts of England from grapes ripened in the open air, and attempts have been made to revive that undertaking, but have not proved a success."

your gardener to send some against the season, and I will direct they shall be sent to London, and from thence to Chester.

Addressed—For John Temple, Esq., at his house at Moor Park, near Farnham, in Surrey, England.

XXII. [*Deane Swift's Essay.*]

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT TO —

Puttenham in Surrey,¹ February 5, 1706-7.

[I SHOULD be glad] to know whether Jonathan be married or whether he has been able to resist the charms of both those gentlewomen that marched quite from Moor Park to Dublin, as they would have marched to the North or anywhere else, with full resolution to engage him.²

¹ Writing of the Rev. Thomas Swift, the cousin who had been Swift's schoolfellow and college companion (*supra*, p. 9, n. 2), and who afterwards claimed a part in writing the "Tale of a Tub," Deane Swift says ("Essay," p. xxxvi): "bred up like his father and grandfather with an abhorrence and contempt for all the puritanical sectaries, he continued Rector of Puttenham without any the least hope of rising in the Church, for the space of three score years." His mother was a daughter of Sir William Davenant. In Appendix I will be found two letters from his father concerning the living of Thorpe Mandeville, to which his father was appointed after the Restoration, but which he never enjoyed.

² What opportunity Swift's cousin had to form a judgement as to the intentions of Stella and Rebecca Dingley is doubtful. He is said to have been chaplain to Sir William Temple, and from the fact that he witnessed Temple's will, which was made shortly after the death of Lady Temple in the spring of 1696, appears to have been with him while Swift was at Kilroot. But in the codicil made shortly before Temple's death, in which Swift and William Dingley (*supra*, p. 42, n. 1) are mentioned, there is no reference to him.

XXIII. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

Leicester, *December 6, 1707.*

MY LORD,

IT was my misfortune that your Grace was abroad the night before I left Ireland when I attended at St. Sepulchre's² to receive your last commands and instructions, therefore I am in the dark how far my Lord Lieutenant³ is pleased

¹ The original, together with five other letters from Swift, is preserved in the record room belonging to the Public Library of Armagh. By permission of the Primate of Ireland, copies were made for the late Mr. Litton Falkiner by Dr. Morgan, the present Keeper of the Library, and there are also in the Forster Collection copies made by a former Keeper, the late Bishop Reeves, a prince amongst calligraphists as well as amongst Irish scholars. (See Forster's "Life," p. 205.)

² St. Sepulchre's was the mediaeval palace of the Archbishops of Dublin, and continued to be used by them until the close of the eighteenth century. It adjoined the close of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and its remains are now incorporated in a barracks of the Dublin metropolitan police. Archbishop King expended a large sum on the fabric, and a pair of handsome gate piers, which are still to be seen in Kevin Street, were probably erected by him. (King's Correspondence, 13 May, 1708.)

³ Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke, who had succeeded the Duke of Ormond as Viceroy. The reputation that this "high born and high bred man" had earned in England by his conduct in various great offices of state held by him from the time of the Revolution, was fully justified by his success as a chief governor of Ireland. "My Lord Lieutenant," says Archbishop King, "acts the same obliging prudent part he did in England, talks with great reserve of business and with great freedom of other affairs. I observe that his learning and general knowledge make conversation easy to him and enable him to divert any [who] would penetrate his thoughts or engage him in subjects wherein he is not willing to discover himself" (1 July, 1707). Writing fifty years later Delany, who had seen many Viceroys, speaks "Observations," p. 143) of Lord Pembroke as the greatest benefactor to Ireland, the greatest encourager to learning, and the greatest example of true generosity and Christian piety that had held the sword during that century. Of Lord Pembroke's munificence Delany cites several extraordinary proofs, assuring his readers that it is beyond doubt that "this great and good man" expended in charity on his progress to Ireland £2,000 and that when travelling in that country he was accustomed to leave in every parish in which he dined £5, and in every parish in which he lay £10 for the poor. (See for further account of him, "Prose Works," *passim*.)

to approve my having any share in soliciting that business your Grace spoke to me about.¹ I confess I was always of opinion that it required a solicitor of my level, after your Grace had done your part in it, and if my endeavours to do service will be thought worth employing, I dare answer for everything but my own ability. When your Grace thinks fit to send me the papers, I would humbly desire your opinion, whether if occasion should require I may not with my Lord Lieutenant's approbation engage the good offices of any great person I may have credit with, and particularly my Lord S[omers], and the Earl of S[underland], because the former by his great influence, and the other by his employment and alliance, may be very instrumental.² I would not have mentioned this at such a distance if I had not forgot it when your Grace discoursed this matter with me last.

I left my Lord Lieutenant at Parkgate this day sen-
 night when he had just landed,³ before the ship that
 carried his equipage for which he was forced to stay, and
 it was said he could not think of beginning his journey
 till Wednesday, the 3rd instant. He goes to Wilton and
 stays there a week, from thence to London, where I design
 to attend him as soon as Sir Andrew Fountaine⁴ shall send
 me notice of his arrival.

¹ The affair of the first-fruits and twentieth parts.

² The Ministry of Godolphin and Marlborough, to which Lecky alludes as "one of the most glorious in English history," was then in power. Although he did not receive office for some years after its formation, Lord Somers (*supra*, p. 39, n. 1) was consulted from the beginning on every question affecting the administration. Lord Sunderland, the son of the Minister to whom Swift attached first his political fortunes (*supra*, p. 24, n. 1), was one of the Secretaries of State. He was married to the Duke of Marlborough's daughter. (See "Prose Works," *passim*.)

³ Parkgate on the river Dee was then the port most used for passenger traffic to Dublin. Letters were sent by Holyhead, but the pathless wilds of Flintshire, which could only be traversed in safety with the aid of a guide, and the terrors of the pass of Penmaenmawr, made the journey one only to be attempted by the strongest travellers. Lord Pembroke had sailed from Ireland on Friday, 28 November; his departure being thus recorded in "The Dublin Gazette": "Yesterday His Excellency the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, embarked for Great Britain under convoy of Her Majesty's ships the Speedwell, Shoram, and Seaford, being attended to the seaside with a numerous train of Nobility and Gentry."

⁴ The well-known virtuoso of Narford in Norfolk, some of whose treasures were dispersed in June 1884, in a great sale at Christie's. Lord

I came round by Derby to this town, where I am now upon a short visit to my mother, and I confess to your Grace that after an absence of less than four years,¹ all things appear new to me. The buildings, the improvements, the dress and countenance of the people put a new spirit into one, *et tacite circum prae cordia ludit*. This long war has here occasioned no fall of lands, nor much poverty among any sort of people, only some complain of a little slowness in tenants to pay their rents, more than formerly. There is a universal love of the present Government, and few animosities except upon elections, of which I just arrived to see one in this town upon a vacancy by the death of a knight of the shire.² They have been polling these three days, and the number of thousands pretty equal on both sides, the parties as usual, High and Low, and there is not a chambermaid, prentice, or schoolboy in this whole town, but what is warmly engaged on one side or the other.

I write this to amuse your Grace and relieve a dull letter of business. Others would make excuses for taking up so much of your Grace's time to read their impertinence. But I shall offer none, I, who know that no man's time is worse taken up than your Grace's, which I am sorry to say of so great a person, and for whom upon all other accounts I have so high a veneration. The world may contradict me

Pembroke was attracted to him by similar tastes and brought Fountaine to Ireland in the capacity of Usher of the Black Rod. Pope refers in the "Dunciad" to Fountaine's dealings with men of rank in scathing terms:

"But Annius, crafty Seer, with ebon wand,
And well dissembled em'rald on his hand,
False as his Gems, and canker'd as his Coins
Came, cramm'd with capon, from where Pallio dines.
Soft as the wily Fox is seen to creep,
Where bask on sunny banks the simple sheep,
Walk round and round, now prying here, now there,
So he; but pious whisper'd first his pray'r,
'Grant, gracious Goddess! grant me still to cheat,
O may thy cloud still cover the deceit.'"

¹ It is said that Swift visited England in the year 1705, but this reference seems to indicate that he had not been in England since his visit in 1703-4. It is possible that the reference is limited to his not having been at Leicester, and that he went to London in 1705 without going to see his mother, but this appears improbable.

² On 4 December, 1707, George Ashby, of Quenby, was returned for Leicestershire in the room of John Verney, deceased.

if they please, but when I see your palace crowded all day to the very gates with suitors, solicitors, petitioners, who come for protection, advice, and charity, and when your time of sleep is misspent in perpetual projects for the good of the Church and kingdom, how successful soever they have been, I can not forbear crying out with Horace, *perditur interea misero lux*. No doubt the public would give me little thanks for telling your Grace of your faults, by which it receives so much benefit, but it need not fear, for I know you are incorrigible, and therefore I intend it purely as a reproach and your Grace has no remedy but to take it as it is meant. And so in perfect pity to that very little remnant of time which is left in your own disposal, I humbly kiss your Grace's hands, and remain, My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, most humble and most obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT.

I shall be at Sir Andrew Fountaine's house in Leicester Fields before your Grace's commands there directed, will reach me.

Addressed—To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, at Dublin, Ireland. By way of London.

XXIV. [*Copy*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *December 16, 1707*.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 6th instant from Leicester. I am heartily glad you got safe to land, for Saturday evening, Sunday and Monday after you went proved here to be most violently stormy, threw down some houses, stripped many and did abundance of mischief. We were in pain for my Lord Lieutenant and the other gentlemen lest they should not have got to land before it happened.²

¹ King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² As has been noted, on the authority of "The Dublin Gazette" (*supra*, p. 61, n. 3), Lord Pembroke sailed from Ireland on Friday, 28 November, and according to the same journal the storm did not occur until a week later: "On Friday and Saturday last [5 and 6 December] happened as terrible a storm of wind as has been known for some years past, which has blown down some Houses, several stacks of

I told my Lord Lieutenant that you would put his Excellency in mind of the business of the first fruits and twentieth parts, and he desired that it might be so. The representation is not yet ready, and it will be hard to make it so as to answer our design and please everybody, there seems to me a strange spirit of jealousy to have possessed the clergy, insomuch that they seem afraid to let anything of their business be known though in order to assist them.¹ "We know not," say they, "what use will be made of it." But they do not consider that what they would conceal is known to all the world, and a great deal more believed concerning their affairs than is true, and that only a true representation of their state can remove the prejudices that are against them, as for example a man that has sixty pounds per annum is afraid to discover it, when at the same time the world believes he has a hundred pounds and he suffers all the obloquy and envy that such an income is apt to raise in those that grudge a maintenance to the clergy. I have often compared such to a traveller that has a guinea in his pocket and dare not discover his stock, lest he should encourage robbers that in the meantime know he is on the road, and believe he has a hundred pounds about him.

But there are some weaknesses ought to be concealed. I grant it, if they are secrets. But we ought to take care of the woodcock's folly that thinks none see him when he hides his head,² one half of the pains would mend those

Chimnies, and done great damage throughout this City and Suburbs." The wind came from W.N.W. and "the Shoram Prize was overset in Clontarf Pool and several small boats were sunk."

¹ It would appear from a letter addressed by Archbishop King to Lord Pembroke (21 February, 1707-8) that the object of these inquiries was to prepare an account of the state of the parishes in the diocese of Dublin to be sent with the representation as an example of the condition of the parishes throughout Ireland. "The Bishops pitched on Dublin," says King, "because it was nearest the Government and the truth of particulars would be more easily examined in it than in those at a greater distance. Your Excellency may be assured that the case is worse in all the other dioceses than in this of Dublin, except in such as lie in the six counties in the north, that are commonly called the escheated counties, where the case of the clergy is better, because King James I, on the settlement after Tyrone's Rebellion, made a new endowment of the churches and settled an equitable tithing table between the ministers and their people in those counties."

² This habit of the woodcock had doubtless been observed by King when in the west of Ireland (*supra*, p. 51, n. 3), where those birds are found in exceptional numbers.

faults that some take to conceal them, in which after all they never succeed. But however I hope next week to send the representation, and I will direct it to you, by which means you will have an opportunity to discourse my Lord about it, when you deliver it to him.

As to your other friends especially the two great Lords you mention, I think it of great moment, that they should be apprised of, and assured to the business. You need use no caution as to the clergy here, or to me; all the danger is of shocking my Lord Lieutenant. If he should take it ill that we applied to other interest, it might be of ill consequence; and therefore you must do this with due deference to him and such caution as prudence may direct, and in some cases there may be a supererogation in that, for I fancy this had been done before had we not been unwilling to go otherwise than in the high road by the Government. If anything be to be moved on my part, I shall readily fall into it.

I am glad you find matters so pleasing to you in your country; it is well that you can believe your eyes, for great pains I assure you are taken to give your country affairs a grumbling aspect. I am glad to understand that they do not look so sour as represented.

I am too much tired now to answer the rallying part of your letter, though it please me the best of any part of it. I confess I deserve to be chid for my easiness in admitting suitors, and am growing every day morose in that point, but cannot persuade people to believe me. However I cannot allow that all my time is ill spent. I divide it into eating, sleeping, praying, studying business and trifling, the two last are only liable to exception, and yet both necessary, for I could not do the first without a little of the last. I should be good for nothing without business, and unfit for it without relaxation; *dulce est desipere in loco*. Pray do not grudge me the pleasure of serving my friends or refreshing myself, or tell me which of these I shall abridge.

When the papers come to you, you will hear more in the mean time, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Addressed—To Dr. Jonathan Swift at Sir Andrew Fontaine's in Leicester Fields.

I told my Lord Lieutenant that you would put his Excellency in mind of the business of the first fruits and twentieth parts, and he desired that it might be so. The representation is not yet ready, and it will be hard to make it so as to answer our design and please everybody, there seems to me a strange spirit of jealousy to have possessed the clergy, insomuch that they seem afraid to let anything of their business be known though in order to assist them.¹ "We know not," say they, "what use will be made of it." But they do not consider that what they would conceal is known to all the world, and a great deal more believed concerning their affairs than is true, and that only a true representation of their state can remove the prejudices that are against them, as for example a man that has sixty pounds per annum is afraid to discover it, when at the same time the world believes he has a hundred pounds and he suffers all the obloquy and envy that such an income is apt to raise in those that grudge a maintenance to the clergy. I have often compared such to a traveller that has a guinea in his pocket and dare not discover his stock, lest he should encourage robbers that in the meantime know he is on the road, and believe he has a hundred pounds about him.

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When the papers come to you, you will hear more in the mean time, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Addressed—To Dr. Jonathan Swift at Sir Andrew Fountain's in Leicester Fields.

XXV. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *January 1, 1707/8.*

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter two posts ago, and should not have given you the trouble of acknowledging it so soon, but that I was loath to leave your Grace in an uncertainty by one I writ lately to the Dean of St. Patrick's,² before yours came to my hand. The storm your Grace mentioned did not reach England, and I remember about the same time four years ago I came just to have my share of a much greater in this town, when Ireland received no damage.³ I am glad your Grace says nothing of any people killed or hurt.

I should be surprised at what your Grace tells me of the clergy, if I were not sensible how extreme difficult it is to deal with any body of men, who seldom understand their true interest, or are able to distinguish their enemies from their friends. Your Grace's observation is so great a truth, that there is hardly a clergyman in Ireland whose revenue

¹ In Armagh Library. See *supra*, p. 60, n. 1.

² John Stearne, to whose election to the deanery of St. Patrick's allusion has already been made (*supra*, p. 53, n. 2). Stearne's name still lives in Ireland as a munificent friend to his Church and University. With both he had strong hereditary ties. For he was a great-grand-nephew of Archbishop James Ussher, and son of one whom in the opinion of Dr. Mahaffy ("An Epoch in Irish History," p. 323) was, next to Ussher, the most remarkable fellow produced by Trinity College in its early days, as well as a man of saintly life. With Swift, Stearne had become acquainted on Swift's appointment to Laracor, as he was then Rector of the adjoining parish of Trim, and had found in him a warm supporter when the deanery of St. Patrick's became vacant. Of their friendship afterwards, and of the part Swift took in Stearne's promotion to the episcopal bench, there will be mention later on, and further particulars of his life will be found in a eulogium by Dr. Mahaffy in "*Peplographia Dublinensis*."

³ The allusion is to a hurricane, long known as The Storm, which occurred on 26 November, 1703, and of which Lord Stanhope gives ("Hist. of Reign of Queen Anne," 3rd edition, p. 104) a most vivid picture. In the death roll from the appalling disasters caused by the fury of the wind, a Bishop and his wife were numbered, and although it did not reach Ireland, the storm extended over a wide area on the Continent, as well as over a great part of England.

is not reckoned in the world at least double what he finds it, beside the accidents to which he finds the remainder is subject. For my own part, I hope to live to see your Grace very ill used; that is, in other words, I wish this affair may succeed, and then you will be sure to be rewarded with a good conscience and detraction. And then likewise those woodcocks may have a better reason for hiding their heads: they may hide them for shame.

I have heard it whispered by some who are fonder of political refinements than I, that a new difficulty may arise in this matter, that it must perhaps be purchased by a compliance with what was undertaken and endeavoured in Ireland last sessions, which I confess I cannot bring myself yet to believe, nor do I care to think or reason upon it.¹ When I have received the representation, I shall, as your Grace directs, deliver it to my Lord Lieutenant and very heartily engage my service in whatever I shall be thought fit to be employed. And the cautions your Grace is pleased to mention I shall observe with the utmost exactness.

As to public affairs, all things are asleep during this recess, and, I am told, the two Houses seem resolved against busying themselves with inquiring into past miscarriages, concerning which the Duke of Marlborough made lately a speech with warmth unusual to him, and with very great effect.² The Admiralty is certainly to con-

¹ During the meeting of the Irish Parliament while Lord Pembroke was in Ireland, the Government had ascertained the opinion of the members as to a repeal of the Test which had been enacted during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Ormond; the trial proved that "nothing was more adverse to the universal inclination of that Parliament" (King's Correspondence, 16 August, 1707). The attempt is said to have been due to Lord Sunderland, whose influence Froude traces ("The English in Ireland," edition 1872, i, 320) in the language of Lord Pembroke's speech at the opening of the Session, in which he urged the desirableness of discovering fresh means to strengthen the Protestant interest.

² The Parliament of Great Britain had met for the first time—just six months after the Act of Union with Scotland had come into force—on 23 October, 1707, and had been much occupied in providing supplies for the campaigns in which England was then engaged, and in discussing the conduct of the war. In referring to Marlborough's speech, which was delivered on 19 December, Lord Stanhope says (*op. cit.*, p. 323) that it was one of the very few occasions on which Marlborough was stirred to a burst of passion.

tinue in the same hand, nor do I yet hear of any change in the Privy Council. The sea commanders seem mightily pleased at a great point gained, and speak hardly of the merchants, who are yet louder against them, and those gentlemen who go into the city return with melancholy accounts from thence.¹ I shall enter into the merits of either cause no further than by telling your Grace a story which perhaps you may have already heard. After the Scots had sent their colony to Darien, it was proposed here what methods should be taken to discourage that project without coming to any avowed or open opposition. The opinion of several merchants was required to that purpose. Among the rest Haistwell² advised to send over to them the Lords of the Admiralty, and if that would not ruin them, nothing could! Such a liberty of speech people are apt to take when they are angry.³

I observe your Grace's artifice to bespeak my good opinion by pretending to the merit of trifling; but I, who am a strict examiner, and a very good judge, shall not be so ready to allow your pretensions without some better title than I ever yet knew or heard you were able to set up. And, if this trifling you boast of were strictly enquired into, it would amount to little more than talking with a friend one hour in a week, or riding to Clontarf⁴ on a fair day. Would Socrates allow this, my Lord, who at fourscore was caught whistling and dancing by himself, or Augustus, who used to play at hucklebone with a parcel of boys? Your Grace must give better proof before I shall admit your plea.

¹ The mismanagement of the navy under Prince George of Denmark afforded also occasion for debate, and a petition was presented from two hundred merchants, complaining of "the ill timing of convoys and want of cruisers," without which trade could not then be carried on.

² There is a letter from Edward Haistwell in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 22852, f. 132), in which he indicates extensive trade on his part with the East Indies and China. He was a Quaker.

³ The colonizing of the isthmus of Darien, or Panama, which England opposed on account of its interference with her trade interests, had been undertaken in 1695 by a Scotch company.

⁴ Clontarf, which is now a suburban district, lies along the northern shore of the bay of Dublin, between Dublin city and the promontory of Howth. Its fine expanse of sand—now intersected by the line of the Great Northern Railway of Ireland—was then a place of great resort for such Dublin citizens as were able to indulge in exercise on horseback.

It is repeated about the town that a clerk of Mr. Secretary Harley's is taken up on suspicion of corresponding with the French Court.¹ I beg your Grace's prayers, and am with all possible respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, and most obliged humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Addressed—To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, at Dublin, Ireland.

XXVI. [*Original*.²]

SWIFT TO ARCHDEACON WALLS

London, *January 22, 1707-08.*

I HAVE received your three letters, though I have not had the manners to answer any of them sooner. By manners we here mean leisure, but you Irish folks must have things explained to you.³ I thank you heartily for the care, and kindness, and good intentions of your intelligence, and I once had a glimpse that things would have gone otherwise. But now I must retire to my morals, and pretend to be wholly without ambition, and to resign with patience. You know by this time who is the happy man; a very worthy person, and I doubt not but the whole kingdom will be pleased with the choice. He will prove an ornament to the order, and a public blessing to the Church and nation. And after this if you will not allow me to be

¹ William Gregg, whose treasonable correspondence with the French Secretary of State led to Harley's retirement from Godolphin's Ministry. See "Prose Works," v, 30.

² In the possession of Mr. John Murray. The letter is printed in part by Forster ("Life," p. 197), and in full by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole ("Letters and Journals of Jonathan Swift," Lond., 1885, p. 42).

³ Although it might be otherwise supposed from this passage the Rev. Thomas Walls was an Englishman who, after receiving some education in the town of Wigan from a lady called Shaw, entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1693, at the mature age of twenty. He became master of the school attached to St. Patrick's Cathedral, and held with it the archdeaconry of the small and remote diocese of Achonry.

a good courtier, I will pretend to it no more. But let us talk no further on this subject: I am stomach-sick of it already. The rest when we meet.¹

I am glad the punning trade goes on.² Sir Andrew Fountaine has been at his country house this fortnight, and he has neither influence nor effluence from thence to London, else perhaps things would not have gone as they did.³ Pray is your Dorothy, as you call her, any kin to Dr. Thindoll, you know h is no letter. She should have called it Mrs. Catherine Logg, not Katty Log, that leaves nothing to guess.⁴ Tell her a pun of mine. I saw a fellow about a week ago hawking in the Court of Requests, with a parrot upon his fist to sell. Yesterday I met him again, and said to him, "How now, friend, I see that parrot sticks upon your hand still?" When you had done with the Dean's books, I believe you were very glad of your liber-ty. Your catalogue puts me in mind of another pun I made the other day. A gentleman was mightily afeard of a cat. I told him it was a sign he was pus-illanimous. And Lady

¹ The allusion is to the bishopric of Waterford, to which Thomas Milles, a well-known classical scholar of Oxford, who had come to Ireland in the train of Lord Pembroke, was about that time appointed. As will be seen from the next letter Swift had reason to hope that the see might have been given to him. He is said by Sheridan ("Life," p. 435) to have formed a particular dislike to Milles, which the subsequent conduct of that prelate justified, and to have brought ridicule upon him at Lord Pembroke's table by a *bite* in Latin.

² The practice of making puns first mentioned in connection with Dilly Ashe (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2), received much encouragement from Lord Pembroke (*supra*, p. 60, n. 3), who took great delight in that form of amusement. In Appendix II to this volume will be found some of the efforts of Swift and his friends to entertain their patron.

³ Fountaine (*supra*, p. 61, n. 4), in whose house Forster found ("Life," p. 194) several of Swift's punning compositions, and who was a great admirer of Swift's ability as well as humour, appears to have been the bond between Lord Pembroke and Swift, and evidently Swift thought that if Fountaine had been at Lord Pembroke's side when the appointment to Waterford was made, the see would not improbably have fallen to him.

⁴ The Dorothy round whom the laboured fooling of this paragraph revolves, was Walls' wife. Her maiden name, as will be seen, had been Newman. In writing to Swift, Walls had related a pun which she had made on the occasion of his being employed in cataloguing Dean Stearne's books, and Swift retorts with a number, beginning with one of which the deistical writer, Matthew Tindal, whose character and writings were about that time severely censured by Swift ("Prose Works," iii, 77), is the subject.

Berkeley talking to her cat, my Lord said she was very impertinent; but I defended her and said I thought her Ladyship spoke very much to the poor-pus.¹ Do you call Dorothy's puns a spurious race, quasi spewrious, because they turn your stomach? If you do not like them let the race be to the Swift, and I am content to father them all as you direct me. Tell her I thought she had been a Newman, but I find she is the old woman still.

The ladies of St. Mary's are well, and talk of going to Ireland in spring.² But Mrs. Johnson cannot make a pun if she might have the weight of it in gold. They desire me to give you their service when I writ. As for politics, I know little worth writing. The Parliament is this year prodigiously slow and the preparations for war much slower, so that we expect but a moderate campaign, and people begin to be heartily weary of the war.³ Pray give my humble service to the Dean of St. Patrick's. I writ to him lately once or twice. I hope he has received my letters. I give no service to Mrs. Walls, because I write this to you both. Pray send me an account of some smaller vacancy than a bishopric in the Government's gift.

Yours etc.,

J. S.

I do not remember that I desired Dr. Smith⁴ to take the trouble he was pleased to do; but I thank him for it, and wish you would desire him to speak to Dean Synge⁵

¹ It is amusing to observe that when with his old friends, the Berkeleys, Swift used still, in the words of their daughter, "to deafen them with puns and rhymes" ("Poetical Works").

² Stella and her friend Rebecca Dingley are designated "the ladies of St. Mary's," owing to the fact that they had changed their lodgings in Dublin from William Street (*supra*, p. 41, n. 2) to Capel Street, which is in the parish of St. Mary's. According to Deane Swift ("Essay," p. 95) Stella went only once to England after she came to Ireland. The visit was paid, he says, in 1705. It seems more probable that he was mistaken as to the year than as to the number of visits.

³ A few weeks before Swift had expressed (see p. 62) an exactly contrary opinion.

⁴ Possibly a doctor of medicine mentioned in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 372, 373, 436).

⁵ Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare and Precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, was a member of a remarkable family which contributed five bishops to the Irish episcopal bench. He would have added another to the number, only for some scandal connected with his private

as from himself, to enquire whether Dr. Stearne designs really to give me the parish that has the church, for I believe I told you that at parting he left me in doubt, by saying he would give me one of them; if he means that which has the church to build, I would not accept it, nor come to Ireland to be deceived, and let him desire Dean Synge, to whom I writ some time ago, to send me word.¹

Addressed—To the Reverend Mr. Walls at his house in Cavan Street,² Dublin, Ireland.

XXVII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *February 5, 1707-8.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE been above a month expecting the representation your Grace was pleased to promise to send me, which makes me apprehend your Grace has been hindered by what you complained of, the clergy's backwardness in a point so very necessary to their service;³ and it is time ill lost at

life. (See Mant, "Hist. of the Church of Ireland," ii, 31, and Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1692; also cf. letter of Archbishop King, dated 7 October, 1704, in King's Correspondence.)

¹ About sixteen months before that time the curacy of the parish of St. Nicholas Without, in Dublin, of which the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's were Rectors, became vacant, and as the parishioners had greatly increased in number, the opportunity was taken to divide the parish, and to constitute the severed portion a separate parish under the name of St. Luke's. According to Swift, Stearne had given him reason to expect that he would benefit under the new arrangement. In a letter written to Stearne twenty-five years later, Swift alleged that Stearne had made him an absolute and frequent promise of the curacy of St. Nicholas Without, but from Swift's words here it would appear that Stearne was not explicit as to which parish he intended to give him. In the end neither one nor the other came to Swift, as Stearne found that there was not money available to carry through the scheme, and retained both parishes himself until he resigned the deanery, devoting the revenue to the erection of a church for St. Luke's parish. It is curious to note that Swift's friend, Delany ("Observations," p. 27), was under the impression that Swift was actually given the curacy of St. Nicholas Without.

² Otherwise Kevin Street, where Walls resided as master of the Cathedral School.

³ *Supra*, p. 64.

this juncture, while my Lord Lieutenant is here, and in great credit at Court, and would perhaps be more than ordinarily ready to serve the Church in Ireland. If I have no directions from your Grace by the end of this month, I shall think of my return to Ireland against the 25th of March, to endeavour to be chosen to the living of St. Nicholas, as I have been encouraged to hope;¹ but would readily return, at a week's warning, to solicit that affair with my Lord Lieutenant while he stays here, or in any other manner your Grace will please to direct.

Your Grace knows long before this, that Dr. Milles is Bishop of Waterford. The Court and Archbishop of Canterbury were strongly engaged for another person, not much suspected in Ireland, any more than the choice already made was, I believe, either here or there.²

The two Houses are still busy in Lord Peterborough's affair, which seems to be little more than an amusement, which it is conceived might at this time be spared, considering how slow we are said to be in our preparations; which, I believe, is the only reason why it was talked the other day about the town, as if there would be soon a treaty of peace. There is a report of my Lord Galway's death, but it is not credited. It is a perfect jest to see my Lord Peterborough, reputed as great a Whig as any in England, abhorred by his own party, and caressed by the Tories.³

¹ *Supra*, p. 72, n. 1.

² No doubt Swift himself. From the fact that the Court and Archbishop Tenison supported him, it would appear that the authorship of the "Tale of a Tub" was then not suspected by them.

³ Although not blind to Peterborough's failings, Swift was convinced of that extraordinary man's genius as a general, and speaks of his conduct of the war in Spain as almost miraculous (see reference given, *supra*, p. 39, n. 1). At the time this letter was written, both Houses were, as Swift says, discussing the Spanish campaign, and the part which Peterborough had taken in it. The Lords entered upon a formal enquiry. They were soon overwhelmed by the mass of evidence which "the indefatigable culprit" brought in his defence, and after ten days had been consumed to little purpose, terminated the examination of witnesses without announcing any result. "The eagerness shown by the Tories to extol the Earl above his real merits," says Wyon (*op. cit.*, i, 540), "did him injury. The Whigs would suffer no hero to shine by the side of Marlborough. The abandonment of the investigation amounted in effect to an acquittal of the Earl, but more than a bare acquittal his friends could not claim. A vote of thanks to

The great question, whether the number of men in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, was but eight thousand six hundred, when there ought to have been twenty-nine thousand six hundred, was carried on Tuesday in the affirmative, against the Court, without a division, which was occasioned by Sir Thomas Hanmer's¹ oratory. It seems to have been no party question, there being many of both glad and sorry for it. The Court hath not been fortunate in their questions this session; and I hear some of both parties expressing contrary passions upon it. I tell your Grace bare matters of fact, being not inclined to make reflections; and if I were, I could not tell what to make, so oddly people are subdivided. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

XXVIII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *February* 12, 1707/8.

HAVING written what I had of business about three posts ago (whereof I wait an answer), perhaps it may be some amusement to you for a few minutes to hear some particulars about the turns we have had at Court. Yesterday the seals were taken from Mr. Harley, and Sir Thomas Mansell gave up his staff. They went to Kensington together for that purpose, and came back immediately, and went together into the House of Commons. Mr. St. John designs to lay down in a few days, as a friend of his told me, though he advised him to the contrary; and they talk that Mr. Brydges, and Mr. Coke the Vice-Chamberlain, with some others, will do the like.²

him for his services was opposed and defeated." Galway, the hero of the Peninsula in the eyes of the Whigs, had been obliged to retire from the active command of the army through ill health, but his death did not take place until many years later.

¹ Afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons. According to Luttrell ("Relation of State Affairs," vi, 262), who gives approximately the same numbers, "the greatest enquiry was where the rest [of the forces] were, and how the money was employed." Harley and St. John spoke "in favour of the Ministry."

² As predicted by Swift, the resignations of Harley and Mansell, who was Controller of the Household, and who afterwards held office

Mr. Harley had been some time, with the greatest art imaginable, carrying on an intrigue to alter the Ministry, and began with no less an enterprise than that of removing the Lord Treasurer, and had nearly effected it, by the help of Mrs. Masham, one of the Queen's dressers, who was a great and growing favourite, of much industry and insinuation. It went so far, that the Queen told Mr. St. John a week ago, that she was resolved to part with Lord Treasurer; and sent him with a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, which she read to him, to that purpose; and she gave St. John leave to tell it about the town, which he did without any reserve; and Harley told a friend of mine a week ago, that he was never safer in favour or employment. On Sunday evening last, the Lord Treasurer and Duke of Marlborough went out of the Council; and Harley delivered a memorial to the Queen, relating to the Emperor and the war. Upon which the Duke of Somerset rose, and said, if her Majesty suffered that fellow (pointing to Harley), to treat affairs of the war without advice of the General, he could not serve her; and so left the Council. The Earl of Pembroke, though in milder words, spoke to the same purpose:¹ so did most of the Lords: and the next day the Queen was prevailed upon to turn him out, though the seals were not delivered till yesterday. It was likewise said, that Mrs. Masham is forbid the Court; but this I have no assurance of. Seven Lords of the Whig party are appointed to examine Gregg, who lies condemned

in Harley's Ministry with the title of Baron Mansell of Margen, were followed by the resignation of St. John, who was Secretary at War. James Brydges, who became the first Duke of Chandos, retained, however, his office, that of Paymaster of the Forces, as did also Thomas Coke, knight of the shire for Derbyshire, who has been sometimes confused with Thomas Coke, the first Earl of Leicester. With the resignation of Sir Simon Harcourt, then Attorney-General, which is announced at the end of this letter, Godolphin's Ministry, which had been hitherto a composite one, was purged of any remnant of Toryism, and the Masham plot came to a sudden end.

¹ An Irish official, then in London, writes two days later: "Lord Pembroke was one that could not serve her Majesty unless Harley was removed; he is more wondered at than any of the rest of the Lords, being one that was thought neuter; Harley being a good natured fellow will remember him when he comes into play again, which it is believed will not be long for the elections will certainly be more with the Tories than Whigs" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

in Newgate; and a certain Lord of the Council told me yesterday, that there are endeavours to bring in Harley as a party in that business, and to carry it as far as an impeachment.¹

All this business has been much fomented by a Lord whom Harley had been chiefly instrumental in impeaching some years ago. The Secretary always dreaded him, and made all imaginable advances to be reconciled, but could never prevail; which made him say yesterday to some who told it to me, that he had laid his neck under their feet, and they trod upon it. I am just going this morning to visit that Lord, who has a very free way of telling what he cares not who hears; and if I can learn any more particulars worth telling, you shall have them.² I never in my life saw or heard such divisions and complications of parties as there have been for some time: you sometimes see the extremes of Whig and Tory driving on the same thing. I have heard the chief Whigs blamed by their own party for want of moderation, and I know a Whig Lord in good employment who voted with the highest Tories against the Court, and the Ministry, with whom he is nearly allied. My Lord Peterborough's affair is yet upon the anvil, and what they will beat it out to, no man can tell.³ It is said that Harley had laid a scheme for an entire new Ministry, and the men are named to whom the several employments were to be given. And though his project has miscarried, it is reckoned the greatest piece of Court skill that has been acted these many years.

I have heard nothing since morning but that the Attorney either has laid down, or will do it in a few days.

XXIX. [*Copy.*⁴]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February* 21, 1707/8.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE at last with great difficulty got the representation concerning the first fruits of Ireland and twentieth parts

¹ *Supra*, p. 69, n. 1.

² Forster thinks ("Life," p. 234) this reference is to Lord Somers. It is inconsistent with Swift's remark on "the formality of his nature" ("Prose Works," v, 380), and may apply to Lord Halifax.

³ *Supra*, p. 73, n. 3. ⁴ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

signed by the Archbishops and Bishops in town, and send it by this post.¹ I intended to have sent it immediately to you, but found it may be very chargeable in the post office, since I could not get a private hand to send it by, and therefore I rather chose to send you the enclosed relating to a matter of near as great a value, and which I hope may be so managed as to prove an introduction to this of the first fruits and twentieth parts.² I trust them both to your management, and am, etc.,

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

XXX. [*Copy.*³]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February 21, 1707/8.*

REVEREND SIR,

I AM informed that Mr. Bourke, my Lord Bophin's son, is procuring an Act of Parliament that if it pass, will take away all those forfeited tithes that were given to the Church by former Acts of Parliament.⁴ They are in value at least three hundred pounds per annum, and are the chief fruit of the Trustees' Act that vested forfeited tithes in them for building churches. If you acquaint his Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, with this I am confident his Excellency will con-

¹ *Supra*, p. 64, n. 1.

² The letter which follows.

³ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

⁴ "Lord Bophin," who was the brother and heir of the then Earl of Clanricarde, had been created, on account of his military services, a peer of Ireland, as Baron Bourke of Bophin, by James II, after that sovereign had been excluded from the Throne of England, but while he still held Ireland. After the battle of Aughrim, where he was taken prisoner, Lord Bourke was attainted, but by an Act of Parliament passed soon after Queen Anne's accession he was restored in blood and estate. In G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage" it is suggested that he succeeded his brother as Earl of Clanricarde about 1704, but from this letter it is evident that the date was a later one. His son, who succeeded him, was educated at Oxford, and shortly before this letter was written had come of age. In a letter dated 16 March Archbishop King writes to the Archbishop of Tuam that Mr. Bourke disclaimed such intention as had been imputed to him, "as he apprehended by people that were not his friends," and said that he would agree to any clause for the security of the Church's interest.

cern himself to prevent it. If any other means be thought necessary, we shall on notice be ready to apply them. I had writ to his Excellency on this subject, but having given him so great trouble already about the representation of the Archbishops and Bishops relating to their first fruits and twentieth parts, I did not dare to multiply his Excellency's trouble at this time. I spake to him before he left Dublin to permit you to put him in mind on occasion of this affair, and his Excellency's goodness is so great that I persuade myself you may safely venture to do it without offending. I pray for, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

XXXI. [*Copy*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February 28, 1707/8.*

REVEREND SIR,

I SENT some posts ago the representation to my Lord Lieutenant and a packet to you.² I am concerned they went so late, but when I considered what the Ministry had on their hands, I am apt to think that a packet relating to Irish affairs will come time enough for the leisure of the Court.

If the next packets confirm the report of an invasion, the hurry in Ireland for aught I can see will be as great and universal as the fear of the Irish massacre was in England on the Revolution, and some are so imprudent as to parallel them.³ But the great cry is, that this was H[arle]y's plot and if he had continued three days longer in his place, the French would have landed at Greenwich. Others think it an amusement to divert the succours designed for Spain. That I find is the part of the war that most have at heart

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface. ² *Supra*, p. 76.

³ The unsuccessful attempt which was made in the following month by a small French force to land in Scotland with the young Chevalier, cannot have come altogether as a surprise in England. Although the King of France had done everything in his power to keep his preparations a secret, some rumours of them must have reached Dublin before this letter was written.

and there is really a dread on most lest it should be lost. If it should, which God forbid, whichever party shall have the misfortune to be reckoned the cause of it, will hardly be able to stand.

As to Dr. Milles' preferment you will not expect from me any account how it [is] relished here. Some say if General Lancelton had been Primate it would not have been so; I did not ask what they meant.¹

As to your own business I have discoursed the Dean about it, and I doubt the thing cannot possibly be done so soon as you expect.² We have not yet been able to pay for the Act of Parliament much less purchase ground for a church, and least of all to lay a scheme for the building it, and some progress must be made in these before we can think of separating the parishes. But it will be time enough to concert these matters when you come over. I can say no more but my, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

XXXII. [*Original*.³]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

SIR,

MR. FROWDE tells me, that you design me the honour of a visit to-morrow morning; but my Lord Sunderland having directed me to wait on him at nine o'clock, I shall take it as a particular favour, if you will give me your

¹ From several allusions to Bishop Milles (*supra*, p. 70, n. 1) it is evident that he had Jacobite leanings, and was suspected of not being true to his own Church. After the accession of George I, the soldiers quartered in Waterford were withdrawn from the Cathedral, as, in the opinion of their officers, the preaching of the Bishop tended to alienate them from the Establishment (Lecky, *op. cit.*, ii, 400), and both Primate Lindsay and Archbishop King allude to his visiting France and appearing amongst the Sorbonne doctors, which the Primate designates playing the fool, but which Archbishop King, who was aware that Bishop Milles carried "a crucifix at his breast," thought had a deeper meaning. (Archbishop Wake's Correspondence in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, 12 January, 1720-1, and Mant, *op. cit.*, ii, 198.) Lancelton is probably a slip for Lancaster, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. See Hearne's "Collections."

² *Supra*, p. 73.

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

company at the George in Pall Mall about two in the afternoon, when I may hope to enjoy your conversation more at leisure, which I set a very great value upon. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

February 29, 1707/8.

Mr. Steele and Frowde will dine with us.¹

XXXIII. [*Copy.*²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *April 7, 1708.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE had yours of the 9th of March last some time by me, but you will excuse my not answering first post when you consider what we have been doing since. All thoughts of fighting had been laid aside in Ireland as much as if we could never be attacked. A militia was an abomination to many. What need for such when we have twelve thousand standing troops on our establishment, and those punctually paid. But so it happens that we really have but four thousand five hundred, hardly a gun mounted in the whole kingdom, forts generally slighted, no arms and little powder. And now on a sudden we must raise a militia which after all has not proved impossible, for I doubt but in one month's time we shall have forty thousand listed, and those good hearty men, that generally understand arms, if they had them.³

¹ The terms of this letter seem to me to indicate that Addison and Swift were not long acquainted when it was written. It has been stated that they became known to each other in 1705, but as I have pointed out (*supra*, p. 62, n. 1), it is doubtful whether Swift was in England in that year. Addison held at the time the letter was written the position of an Under-Secretary for the Southern Department, for which Lord Sunderland was the Secretary of State. As well as being his friend from school days, Richard Steele was, through his employment as *Gazetteer*, in daily intercourse with Addison. The other member of the party, Philip Frowde, the author of "*The Fall of Saguntum*," of whom we shall see more later on, is said to have been a pupil of Addison's at Oxford.

² In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

³ In connection with the attempted invasion of Scotland (*supra*, p. 78, n. 3) by the French, an attack on Ireland, either "as a feint or a

I am to inform you that great art is used to advance the Dissenters' interest on this occasion, and the city of Dublin has been surprised to put something that way in their address, though I do not know any officer that has on account of the Test parted with his command, and I do not believe that three will. It is hardly credible how working those people on all occasions are to promote their party.¹ I do not think it proper to say any more on this subject, but it will perhaps be of some use and satisfaction to observe the steps that are taken. I know not what England might have done if this invasion had made any progress, but I am confident that the whole body of the Protestants there would have been firm to a man against it.

Pray do not forget to put my Lord Lieutenant in mind of our first fruits and twentieth parts. I had no answer from his Excellency about it. If Mr. Bourke's bill go on, let it be viewed by a lawyer, but if my information be right the Parliament is already up and it cannot proceed.²

I am of your opinion that expectation of reversions is a cold subsistence. I have many arguments against the methods used in his case but necessity has no law; and till things be a little better I can have no prospect of ordering

reality," formed part of the plan (Froude, *op. cit.*, i, 325). Writing on 13 March, Archbishop King says: "People here are almost frightened out of their wits with the fear of an invasion; we want two packets and that makes the apprehension greater. . . . The Justices and Council have done what they think proper, but nothing near what some people would have done. The truth is we are in an ill condition, not above four thousand three hundred men in the army, many of those want arms as it is said, the arms from Holland not having come; the militia absolutely neglected, no arms nor powder for them if raised, and no power in the Grand Juries by our late Act as formerly to raise money on the country to arm them. The Irish, according to their laudable custom, are insolent and foolish, and, in truth, we reckon our security rather in the weakness of our enemy than in our own strength."

¹ The address from the city of Dublin was doubtless one congratulating the Queen on the failure of the French to achieve a landing in Scotland. The effect of the Test on the Irish militia is much disputed. An examination of the State Papers led Froude (*op. cit.*, i, 326) to form the conclusion that it was most injurious. The Ulster militia, the rank and file of which had been almost exclusively Presbyterian, had been, he says, simply annihilated, and no longer permitted to have an officer of their own persuasion, they refused to obey the summons when invited to enlist.

² *Supra*, p. 77.

it otherwise. I hope, however, that this may turn to your advantage, for to deal ingenuously with you I do conceive that you could have no prospect of temporal interest if you were to-morrow put into one of those parishes;¹ and therefore that you lose no profit and secure your ease whilst you are out of it. But this is so far from being an argument against you with others that on the contrary every good man will be uneasy till you be settled in that or a better. If a new Lord Lieutenant should be thought on with which we are threatened, pray be early to come in his family, for you see that is the only merit.² I heartily recommend you to God's favour and am, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

XXXIV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

London, *April* 15, 1708.

SIR,

I WONDER whether, in the midst of your buildings,³ you ever consider that I have broke my shins, and have been a week confined this charming weather to my chamber, and cannot go abroad to hear the nightingales, or pun with my Lord Pembroke.⁴ Pug is very well, and likes London wonderfully, but Greenwich better, where we could hardly keep him from hunting down the deer.⁵ I am told by some at

¹ *Supra*, p. 79.

² In other words, that Swift should obtain the post of chaplain. The promotion of Milles (*supra*, p. 70, n. 1) was the case immediately in point.

³ The house afterwards occupied by Swift when he became Dean of St. Patrick's was built by Stearne (*supra*, p. 66, n. 2). Writing on 2 September, 1707, Archbishop King says: "Dr. Stearne has this summer erected a very fine house on his deanery, and laid out about 1000*l*. There was no house, that I can find, there since the Reformation." (King's Correspondence.) Unfortunately in the latter part of the eighteenth century this house was almost entirely destroyed by fire, one of the few articles rescued from the flames being a fine portrait of Swift, which hangs in the dining-room of the present deanery house. ("Prose Works," xii, 27.)

⁴ *Supra*, p. 70, n. 2.

⁵ "Pug" belonged no doubt to "the ladies of St. Mary's" (*supra*, p. 71, n. 2), who had evidently not yet left London.

Court, that the Bishop of Kildare is utterly bent upon a removal on this side, though it be to St. Asaph, and then the question must be, whether Dr. Pratt will be Dean of St. Patrick's, minister of St. Catherine's, or Provost? For I tell you a secret, that the Queen is resolved the next promotion shall be to one of Dublin education: this she told the Lord Lieutenant.¹ Your new Waterford Bishop franks his letters, which no bishop does that writes to me; I suppose it is some peculiar privilege of that see.²

The Dissenters have made very good use here of your frights in Ireland upon the intended invasion; and the Archbishop writes me word, that the address of Dublin city will be to the same purpose, which I think the clergy ought to have done their best to prevent, and I hope they did so.³ Here has the Irish Speaker been soliciting to get the Test clause repealed by an Act here; for which I hope he will be impeached when your Parliament meets again, as well as for some other things I could mention.⁴ I hope

¹ The see of Kildare was held at that time by an ancestor of the Agar-Ellis family, Welbore Ellis, who had been promoted to it from a prebend in Winchester, and was essentially English in his character and aspirations. To him an Irish bishopric was banishment, and from the moment of his appointment, when he sought consecration at the hands of English prelates (Mant, *op. cit.*, ii, 175), his desire for translation to the episcopal bench of his own country was proclaimed. Those from whom, in Swift's opinion, a successor to Ellis was then likely to be chosen were Dean Stearne (*supra*, p. 66, n. 2), Dean Synge (*supra*, p. 71, n. 5), who held the incumbency of St. Catherine's in Dublin, and Dr. Peter Browne (*infra*, p. 119, n. 2), who was Provost of Trinity College. For the post vacated by whichever of them might be promoted, there was, Swift thought, only one possible selection, namely, Dr. Pratt. The Rev. Benjamin Pratt, whose succession to the provostship two years later on Browne's promotion to the see of Cork showed Swift's judgement not to have been at fault, was then a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, which he had entered while Swift was an undergraduate under Swift's tutor, St. George Ashe. He was a member of a family well known amongst the larger landed proprietors of Ireland, and, as a man of fortune and highly cultured taste, spent much time in England and abroad. His conduct was not always thought such as became a don, and some years before Provost Browne had called it in question, complaining amongst other things that Pratt had appeared in London in "a bare habit," *i.e.*, without his gown, and did not "cap" to him in the college hall (King's Correspondence under date 4 December, 1701). But these were not grave faults in the opinion of the public, and Pratt continued to be the favourite of "the taverns, the coffee-houses, and the exchanges."

² *Supra*, p. 79.

³ *Supra*, p. 81, n. 1.

⁴ Alan Brodrick, who became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the

you will be of my opinion in what I have told the Archbishop about those addresses. And if his Grace and clergy of the province send an address, I desire I may present it, as one of the chapter, which is the regular way; but I beg you will endeavour among you, that the Church of Ireland gentlemen may send an address to set the Queen and Court right about the Test, which every one here is of opinion you should do; or else I have reason to fear it will be repealed here next session, which will be of terrible consequence, both as to the thing and the manner, by the Parliament here interfering in things purely of Ireland, that have no relation to any interest of theirs.

If you will not use me as your book-buyer, make use of Sir Andrew Fountaine, who sends you his humble service, and will carry over a cargo as big as you please toward the end of summer,¹ when he and I intend my Lord Lieutenant shall come into our company without fail, and in spite of Irish reports, that say we shall come no more.

first Viscount Midleton, was then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, a position to which he had been elected on the accession of Queen Anne. At the time of his election he was one of the law officers, from whose number the Speaker was, until a few years later, invariably chosen; but owing to his dissent from the policy of which the Duke of Ormond was the exponent, he was soon afterwards relieved of his office—that of Solicitor General—which had been conferred on him first by William III. Under Lord Pembroke's administration, favour was again shown him, and he was restored to the ranks of the law officers in the higher position of Attorney General. From his ancestors, who had come to Ireland in the troublous times preceding the Commonwealth, Brodrick had inherited Whig opinions of a most extreme kind, and a brusque manner with some warmth of temper still further alienated from him those whose principles differed from his own. As an advocate for the repeal of the Test, Brodrick was in Swift's eyes outside the pale, and is denounced by him in the following letter in unmeasured terms; but Brodrick was undoubtedly an honourable as well as an able opponent, and Archbishop King, although no less anxious than Swift for the retention of the Test, writes at this very time in commendation of the Speaker's "great moderation and prudence" (King's Correspondence under date 20 April, 1708). For further particulars of Brodrick's life, see "Prose Works," vi, 135 *et passim*.

¹ Stearne accumulated a large library of printed books and a valuable collection of manuscripts; he bequeathed a portion of the former to Marsh's Library (*supra*, p. 13, n. 2), and the latter, which relate principally to the history of Ireland, and include the Depositions made after the Rebellion of 1641, to Trinity College Library. Archbishop King made use of Sir Andrew Fountaine's knowledge in purchasing additions to his library (*infra*, p. 89).

I reckon by this time you have done with masons and carpenters, and are now beginning with upholsterers, with whom you may go on as slow and soberly as you please. But pray keep the garden till I come. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Direct the enclosed, and deliver it to the greatest person in your neighbourhood.¹

XXXV. [*Original.*"]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *April* 15, 1708.

MY LORD,

I HAD last post the honour of your Grace's of the 7th instant, and I must caution your Grace once for all, that you must either resolve never to write to me, or be content that I shall answer immediately, though I have nothing material to say, which I allow to be hard usage, and just the reverse of what all my other correspondents meet with. But the fault is in your Grace, who gives the provocation, and whose letters are full of everything that can inspire the meanest pen with generous and public thoughts. Considering many reasons not proper to mention, I do not wonder at all, that Ireland was found in so ill a posture for defence, but I hope all will be better upon my Lord Lieutenant's return, which we certainly conclude will be towards the end of summer, there being not the least talk of his removal. I was told in confidence three weeks ago by a friend in business, that the chief Whig Lords resolved to apply in a body to the Queen, for my Lord Somers to be made President; but the other day upon trial, the Ministry would not join, and the Queen was resolute, and so it has miscarried.²

¹ The letter addressed to Archbishop King which follows. In its concluding paragraph Swift explains his reason for not sending it direct.

² In Armagh Library (*supra*, p. 60, n. 1).

³ The office of President of the Council was then held by Lord Pembroke together with that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Although

We have been already surprised enough with two addresses from the Dissenters of Ireland; but this from Dublin will, I fear, be very pernicious,¹ and there is no other remedy but by another address from the uncorrupted part of the city, which has been usual in England from several counties as in the case of the Tack;² and I should hope from a person of your Grace's vigilance, that counter-addresses should be sent both from the clergy and conforming gentry of Ireland, to set the Queen right in this matter. I assure your Grace, all persons I converse with are entirely of this opinion, and I hope it will be done.

Some days ago my Lord Somers entered with me into discourse about the Test clause, and desired my opinion upon it, which I gave him truly, though with all the gentleness I could, because as I am inclined and obliged to value the friendship he professes for me, so he is a person whose favour I would manage in this affair of the first fruits. I had consulted Mr. Southwell³ and some other friends

after Prince George's death Somers was appointed to the presidency, the Queen could not previously be prevailed on to consent to his inclusion in the Ministry. "Beside that she entertained at that time—however unjustly yet sincerely—an ill opinion of Lord Somers from his conduct during the late reign," says Lord Stanhope (*op. cit.*, p. 366), "she knew that his appointment would give great pain to her Consort, who regarded Somers as the real author of the recent attacks upon the Admiralty measures." If the account Swift gives in his "Memoirs relating to that change in the Queen's Ministry" ("Prose Works," v, 372) is to be accepted, Somers attributed his exclusion from the Ministry as much to Godolphin and Marlborough as to the Queen, but their attitude is now seen to have been one of inability and not of unwillingness. Lord Campbell doubts ("Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England," 4th ed., v, 168) the correctness of Swift's version of the conversation between Somers and himself, and thinks that Swift has misrepresented it.

¹ *Supra*, p. 83.

² The unsuccessful attempt, which was made on its third introduction, to attach the Bill against Occasional Conformity to a money bill in order to insure its acceptance by the Lords, excited even greater feeling in the country than has been described by Swift on the occasion of its second introduction (*supra*, p. 38). A division list showing how each member voted was published, which was very rarely done in that age.

³ The Right Hon. Edward Southwell, who is here first mentioned, was the eldest son of Sir Robert Southwell (*supra*, p. 1, n. 4), and had succeeded his father as Secretary of State for Ireland. That office was then a sinecure, not requiring residence in Ireland, and with it Southwell held the clerkship of the Privy Council of England. His interests were largely bound up with those of James, second Duke of

before; and they all agreed it necessary that I should have access to Lord Treasurer, and solicit the matter myself.¹ I told Lord Somers the case, and that by your Grace's commands and the desire of several Bishops and some of the principal clergy I undertook the matter, that the Queen and Lord Treasurer had already fallen into it these four years; that it wanted nothing but solicitation; that I knew his Lordship was a great friend of Lord Sunderland, with whom I had been long acquainted, but hearing he forbore common visits now he was in business, I had not attended him.² Then I desired his Lord-

Ormond; his father had been the chosen confidant of that nobleman's grandfather, who told his grandson that Sir Robert Southwell was of all men the one on whom he would wish him to rely for advice (Carte's "Life of Ormond," ed. 1851, v, 179), and the friendship between the great Duke and Sir Robert seems to have been renewed in the case of their descendants. In addition to his other offices Southwell acted as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant on the two occasions when the second Duke of Ormond held the sword in Ireland, and was at all times active in the Duke's affairs. As a member of the Tory party Southwell had no influence with the Ministry of the day or their friends. Indeed, with Somers, the mention of his name would probably have done harm, as he had shortly before been engaged in a severe election contest with Somers' nephew, whom he had unseated on petition by a majority of seven votes in a full house, in spite of the efforts of Sunderland, Wharton, and Halifax, who walked during the debate in the Court of Requests "to hasten and keep in" their friends. (Departmental Correspondence, Irish Public Record Office, under date 27 January, 1706-7.) But Swift was aware that Southwell was one of Archbishop King's greatest friends and most frequent correspondents, and thought it good policy to keep him informed of all he did. It is interesting to note when the days of the Harley ministry come, how the formal "Mr." gives place to a familiar "Ned" in Swift's references to Southwell. ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*.)

¹ Four months had passed since Swift had told Archbishop King that he proposed to seek the assistance of Lord Somers and Lord Sunderland in the affair of the first fruits (*supra*, p. 61), but owing to the delay in sending the representation (*supra*, p. 76), and the important political events that had intervened, it was only then that Swift found an opportunity of pressing the claims of the Irish clergy. The time for further consideration had not only convinced him of the wisdom of approaching the statesmen originally mentioned, but also of gaining an interview with Godolphin.

² Swift had known Sunderland (*supra*, p. 61, n. 2) from the Moor Park days. In the Journal to Stella he refers to a visit which Sunderland paid there when travelling with his tutor, Charles Trimmel, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, from whom he is said by Swift to have learned politics. ("Prose Works," ii, 328; x, 27.)

ship to tell Lord Sunderland the whole matter, and prevail that I might attend with him upon my Lord Treasurer. Yesterday Lord Somers came to see me, and told me very kindly he had performed my commission, that Lord Sunderland was very glad we should renew our acquaintance, and that he would whenever I pleased go with me to Lord Treasurer. I should in a day or two have been able to give your Grace some further account, if it were not for an accident in one of my legs which has for some time confined me to my chamber, and which I am forced to manage for fear of ill consequences. I hope your Grace will approve of what I have hitherto done. I told Lord Somers the nicety of proceeding in the matter where the Lord Lieutenant was engaged, and design to tell it Lord Sunderland and Lord Treasurer and shall be sure to avoid any false step in that point,¹ and your Grace shall I hope soon know the issue of this negotiation, or whether there be any hope from it.

If it became me to give ill names to ill things and persons, I should be at a loss to find bad enough for the villainy and baseness of a certain lawyer of Ireland, who is in a station the least of all others excusable for such proceedings, and yet has been going about most industriously to all his acquaintance in both Houses towards the end of the session to show the necessity of taking off the Test clause in Ireland by an Act here, wherein you may be sure he had his brother's assistance.² If such a project should be resumed next session, and I in England, unless your Grace would send me your absolute commands to the contrary, which I should be sorry to receive, I should hardly forbear publishing some paper in opposition to it, or leaving one behind me if there should be occasion.

I most humbly thank your Grace for your favourable

¹ This passage is a reply to what King had said in his letter of 16 December (*supra*, p. 65).

² In connection with the previous letter this denunciation of Speaker Brodrick, who is of course the person denoted in this passage, has been mentioned (*supra*, p. 83, n. 4). His eldest brother, Thomas Brodrick, was still more extreme in his political views. ("Prose Works," v, 12, 294.) It is to him and not to the Speaker that Swift refers in the "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," where he writes of "an honest bellwether of our house," who expressed the hope that he would live to see the day when bishops were unknown in Ireland. (*Ibid.* iv, 14.)

thoughts in my own particular, and I cannot but observe that you conclude them with a compliment in such a turn as betrays more skill in that part of eloquence than you will please to own, and such as we whose necessities put us upon practising it all our lives can never arrive to.¹ I send this politic letter enclosed, for fear some profound person might know it by its weight, which will now be all imputed to the cover.² Sir A[ndrew] Fountaine³ presents his humble duty to your Grace, and will get you the Talmud if you please; he is gone this morning to Oxford for three or four days. Your bill shall be made up when the Talmud is in it. I am with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient and most obliged humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

I do suppose your Grace intends to send an address from the clergy of Dublin, and of your province, and I would be glad to be the deliverer of it; and I think the University should send another, and Dr. Pratt⁴ is here to deliver it. I am sure it would please the Duke of Ormond.⁵

XXXVI. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

June [10], 1708.

SIR,

I WRIT to you some weeks ago,⁶ and enclosed, as now, a letter to your neighbour—but I fear it was kidnapped by some privateer, or else you were lazy or forgetful, or which is full as good, perhaps, it had no need of an answer—and I would not for a good deal, that the former had miscarried, because the enclosed was wonderfully politic, and would have been read to you, as this, I suppose, will, though it be not half so profound. Now are you gone

¹ *Supra*, p. 82.

² *Supra*, p. 85.

³ *Supra*, p. 61, n. 4.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 83, n. 1.

⁵ The Duke of Ormond (*supra*, p. 50, n. 3) was then Chancellor of Dublin University.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 82.

some summer ramble, and will not receive this in a fortnight; nor send the enclosed in as much more. I have often begged you would let me buy you one fifty pounds worth of books; but now I have been here so long, I believe you will have reason to apprehend I may sink the money. Sir Andrew Fountaine¹ will never be satisfied till he gets into the little room, with the three Ashes, the Bishop of Killala, and myself, to be happy at the expense of your wine and conversation.²

Here is a sight of two girls joined together at the back, which, in the news-monger's phrase, causes a great many speculations; and raises abundance of questions in divinity, law, and physic.³ The boys of our town are mighty happy,

¹ *Supra*, p. 70, n. 3.

² Whatever circumstances may have attended his course in Dublin University, Swift shows in this circle of friends no desire to escape from the society of those who knew them best, or from conversation which must inevitably have turned on his college days, and this fact becomes even more striking when it is seen that with one exception all the friends mentioned were considerably older than Swift, and likely to view delinquencies, such as have sometimes been attributed to him, with less leniency than his contemporaries. St. George Ashe, then Bishop of Clogher, had been his college tutor, and was afterwards Provost. The Bishop's brother, Thomas Ashe, who was the Bishop's senior by a year, and lived on the family estate near Trim, as well as Dillon, who was Swift's contemporary (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2), had been educated in Trinity College. The Bishop of Killala, William Lloyd, who had matriculated before Swift was born, had been a Fellow. And Dean Stearne, who was about the same age as Bishop Ashe, apart from being a distinguished graduate, was attached, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 66, n. 2), to the University by hereditary ties and academic tastes which resulted in his becoming eventually its Vice-Chancellor—an office held by Bishop Ashe when this letter was written.

³ There is an account of this "wonderful union of two twin sisters," with a curious print showing them in different postures, in "Philosophical Transactions," l, 311. "These two monstrous girls," writes an eye-witness, "were born at Szony, in Hungary, in the year 1702. They were born conjoined together at the small of the back. I asked the father and mother if they could not be separated one from the other, but they answered not. . . . They were brisk, merry, and well bred; they could read, write, and sing very prettily; they could speak three different languages as Hungarian or High Dutch, Low Dutch, and French, and were learning English. They were very handsome, very well shaped in all parts, and beautiful faces. . . . When one stooped, she lifted the other from the ground and carried the other upon her back; neither could they walk side by side." Another eye-witness says that they differed in their temperament, and that one was stronger and more lively than the other.

for we are to have a beheading next week, unless the Queen will interpose her mercy.¹ Here is a long lampoon publicly printed, abusing by name at length, all the young people of quality, that walk in the park.² These are effects of our liberty of the press.

I long to know what is become of your new house, whether there is yet a union between that and the little one, or whether the work stops for want of money; and you pretend it is only that the boards may have time to season.³ We are still in pain for Mr. Dopping's being in one of the packet boats that were taken. He and many more have vowed never to return to England again; which, if they forget, they may properly be called vows written in water.⁴

Pray, Sir, let me hear from you some time this hot weather, for it will be very refreshing; and I am confined by business to this ugly town, which, at this season of the year, is almost insufferable. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

¹ Edward, first Lord Griffin of Braybrooke, then lay under sentence of death. He was a devoted follower of the Pretender, and had been taken prisoner three months previously while joining in the attempted invasion of Scotland (*supra*, p. 78, n. 2). The extreme penalty of the law was never carried out, but Lord Griffin was only respited from month to month, until two years later a natural death terminated his sufferings.

² According to Nichols ("Works," xv, 47), this reference is to a poem entitled "St. James's Park," by William Oldisworth, one of the authors of the "Examiner."

³ It is evident from this reference that Stearne built his house in sections, and that the sum mentioned by Archbishop King (*supra*, p. 82, n. 3) only represented a portion of the expenditure upon it.

⁴ As appears from the Journal to Stella, these vows were not kept by Samuel Dopping to whom Swift alludes. He was a man of good attainments and of independent means, the eldest son of Bishop Dopping, one of the few Irish bishops who remained in Ireland between the Revolution and the Battle of the Boyne, and as a kinsman of two families—the Usshers and the Molyneuxes—with a high reputation for learning, found easy access to men of science and of letters, amongst whom he sought his friends. He sat in the Irish Parliament during the reign of Queen Anne as member for Armagh, and after the accession of George I, for Dublin University.

XXXVII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *June* 10, 1708.

MY LORD,

I SENT your Grace a long letter several weeks ago, enclosed in one to the Dean.¹ I know not whether it came to your hands, having not since been honoured with your commands. I believe I told your Grace, that I was directly advised by my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Somers, Mr. Southwell, and others, to apply to my Lord Treasurer, in behalf of the clergy of Ireland; and Lord Sunderland undertook to bring me to Lord Treasurer, which was put off for some time on account of the invasion. For, it is the method here of great ministers, when any public matter is in hand, to make it an excuse for putting off all private application.

I deferred it some time longer, because I had a mind my Lord Sunderland should go along with me; but either the one or the other was always busy, or out of the way; however, his Lordship had prepared Lord Treasurer, and engaged him, as he assured me, to think well of the matter; and the other day Lord Treasurer appointed me to attend him. He took me into a private room, and [I] told him my story; that I was commanded by your Grace, and desired by some other Bishops, to use what little credit I had, to solicit, under the direction of my Lord Lieutenant, the remitting of the first fruits; which, from the favourable representation of his Lordship to the Queen about four years ago, the clergy were encouraged to hope would be granted; that I had been told it might be of use, if some person could be admitted to his presence, at his usual times of being attended, in order to put him in mind; for the rest, they relied entirely on his Excellency's good office, and his Lordship's dispositions to favour the Church. He said, in answer, he was passive in this business: that he supposed my Lord Lieutenant would engage in it, to

¹ His letter of April 15 (*supra*, p. 85).

whom, if I pleased, he would repeat what I had said. I replied, I had the honour of being well known to his Excellency; that I intended to ask his leave to solicit this matter with his Lordship, but had not mentioned it yet, because I did not know whether I had credit enough to gain that access he was now pleased to honour me with: that upon his Lordship's leave to attend him, signified to me by the Earl of Sunderland, I went to inform his Excellency, not doubting his consent; but did not find him at home, and therefore ventured to come; but, not knowing how his Excellency might understand it, I begged his Lordship to say nothing to my Lord Lieutenant, until I had the honour to wait on him again.

This my Lord Treasurer agreed to, and entering on the subject, told me, that since the Queen's grant of the first fruits here, he was confident, not one clergyman in England was a shilling the better. I told him, I thought it lay under some incumbrances. He said, it was true; but besides that, it was wholly abused in the distribution; that as to those in Ireland, they were an inconsiderable thing, not above one thousand or twelve hundred pounds a year, which was almost nothing for the Queen to grant, upon two conditions: first, that it should be well disposed of, and, secondly, that it should be well received with due acknowledgments, in which cases he would give his consent: otherwise, to deal freely with me, he never would. I said, as to the first, that I was confident the Bishops would leave the methods of disposing it entirely to her Majesty's breast; as to the second, her Majesty and his Lordship might count upon all the acknowledgments that the most grateful and dutiful subjects could pay to a Prince; that I had the misfortune to be altogether unknown to his Lordship, else I should presume to ask him, whether he understood any particular acknowledgments. He replied, "By acknowledgments, I do not mean any thing under their hands; but I will so far explain myself to tell you, I mean better acknowledgments than those of the clergy of England."

I then begged his Lordship, to give me his advice, what sort of acknowledgments he thought fittest for the clergy to make, which I was sure would be of mighty weight with them. He answered, "I can only say again, such acknowledgments as they ought." We had some

other discourse of less moment; and after license to attend him on occasion, I took my leave.¹

I tell your Grace these particulars in his very words, as near as I can recollect, because I think them of moment, and I believe your Grace may think them so too. I told [Mr.] Southwell all that had passed, and we agreed in our comments, of which I desired him now to inform you. He set out for Ireland this morning.² I am resolved to see my Lord Sunderland in a day or two, and relate what my Lord Treasurer said, as he hath commanded me to do; and perhaps I may prevail on him to let me know his Lordship's meaning, to which I am prepared to answer, as Mr. Southwell will let you know.

At evening, the same day, I attended my Lord Lieutenant, and desired to know what progress he had made; and at the same time proposed, that he would give me leave to attend Lord Treasurer only as a common solicitor, to refresh his memory. I was very much surprised at his answer, that the matter was not before the Treasurer, but entirely with the Queen, and therefore it was needless; upon which I said nothing of having been there. He said, he had writ lately to your Grace an account of what was done; that some progress was made; but they put it off because it was a time of war, but that he had some hopes it would be done: but this is only such an account as his Excellency thinks fit to give, although I sent it your Grace by his orders. I hope that in his letters he is fuller.

¹ Swift's allegiance to the Whigs was severely shaken by this interview. He had no doubt that the acknowledgment which Godolphin required was the consent of the clergy to the repeal of the Test, and that the Ministry were determined to press the measure of which they had given an indication during the last session of the Irish Parliament (*supra*, p. 67, n. 1). Besides, in the opinion of Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 191), Swift formed on personal grounds an antipathy to Godolphin, and was offended by the suggestion that he was without means of access to the Lord Lieutenant. "The dull and pompous dignity, the pervading mediocrity of Godolphin were as vinegar to Swift," says Sir Henry; "from the first he saw through those empty platitudes."

² Edward Southwell (*supra*, p. 86, n. 3) lived principally in England, at Kingweston and in London. He visited Ireland, however, occasionally, sometimes to discharge his duties as representative of Kinsale in the Irish Parliament, and at other times to look after his property. On the present occasion he came over on business connected with property belonging to his wife—the only daughter of Vere Essex, Earl of Ardglass—in the county of Down.

My Lord Treasurer on the other hand assured me, he had the papers, which his Excellency denied; and talked of it as a matter that had long lain before him, which several persons in great employments assure me is and must be true.¹

Thus your Grace sees that I shall have nothing more to do in this matter, further than pursuing the cold scent of asking his Excellency, once a month, how it goeth on; which, I think, I had as good forbear, since it will turn to little account. All I can do is, to engage my Lord Sunderland's interest with my Lord Treasurer, whenever it is brought before him; or to hint it to some other persons of power and credit; and likewise to endeavour to take off that scandal the clergy of Ireland lie under, of being the reverse of what they really are, with respect to the Revolution, loyalty to the Queen, and settlement of the Crown; which is here the construction of the word Tory.

I design to tell my Lord Treasurer, that, this being a matter my Lord Lieutenant hath undertaken, he does not think proper I should trouble his Lordship; after which, recommending it to his goodness, I shall forbear any further mention. I am sensible how lame and tedious an account this is, and humbly beg your Grace's pardon; but I still insist, that if it had been solicited four years ago by no abler a hand than my own, while the Duke of Ormond was in Ireland, it might have been done in a month;² and I believe it may be so still, if his Excellency lays any weight of his credit upon it; otherwise, God knows when. For myself, I have nothing to do here but to attend my Lord Lieutenant's motions, of whose return we are very uncertain, and to manage some personal affairs of my own. I beg the continuance of your Grace's favour, and your blessing; and am, with all respect,

Your Grace's most obedient servant, &c.

¹ "The deceits of Ministers may sometimes serve useful purposes of their own; they always give food for laughter to those whom they believe their dupes" (Craik's "Life," i, p. 193).

² *Supra*, p. 50, n. 3.

XXXVIII. [*Copy.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *June 12, 1708.*

SIR,

I CANNOT tell what you may think of my long silence, nor can I well account for it; I am sure there is a reason for it, pray see if you can find it out. For my own part I profess I find myself in a wood, and do not know but in such a case it is best to stand still till the mist clear; by doing so I shall at least avoid the fatigue of wandering or falling into a pit. We have been terrified with interception of letters at the Post Office.² I am sure I can write nothing that I am solicitous to conceal, and yet am desirous not to give so much interruption to any as the reading of a letter of no consequence in an ill hand may create; the good nature of mankind besides is such that they seldom search for nothing, and therefore either find, or make something of, that nature in what they read.

I should not have ventured to have given you the trouble of this if I had not received the honour of a letter from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, wherein he signifies that he has made some progress in the affair of the first fruits and twentieth parts; and that his Excellency had good hopes of having it concluded in some time. This I intended immediately to have communicated to the Bishops here, but such another accident in my foot as you mention to have happened to you in one of your legs, has confined me to my chamber ever since I received it. There is no manner of necessity that people in London should know that I have the gout.³

As to the Test clause, if the repeated votes of Parliament be not sufficient to show the sense of the people as to that point I cannot tell how it shall be known. Great industry

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² As Lecky ("England in the Eighteenth Century," Lond., 1878, i, 454) says, "the secrecy of the Post Office was habitually violated" in the early part of that century. A number of authorities are cited by Lecky in support of his statement; in particular a passage in one of Sir Robert Walpole's letters which shows that Walpole had "no scruple in opening the letters of a political rival."

³ *Supra*, p. 51, n. 3.

has been used and great art to drop something tending that way into three or four addresses.¹ Those have been industriously printed and all others excluded; for my own part I cannot have so mean a soul as to stoop to such artifices. I have had the comfort to see many such defeated, and their fine spun webs that had cost much time and pains swept away at one brush. I hope the like success will follow the like endeavours. As to addresses I have ever looked on them as an argument of the weakness of the Government, that the addressers thought so and believed themselves suspected or feared. I hope this is not the case of her Majesty. I am of opinion that the great men you mention lay little weight on them, and make their computation not from such, but from the real affection and bent of the people. I believe that all schemes not built on these foundations will fall of themselves. I always except a standing army, for that may support a Government in spite of the genius of the people so long as to change it, and make them content with their slavery, but I cannot suspect that any you have mentioned as friends can look that way, or can have any views but what are founded on the natural bent of the people's inclinations. Yet I cannot but observe that there looks something like constraint in some people's management of late, and that if all were left to themselves they would not act altogether as they do.

We know not what to think of his Excellency's long stay on that side of the water. It is true the government of Ireland is a very good sinecure, but we do not believe that it is his principle to make it so.² I must still entreat you

¹ *Supra*, p. 86.

² In the reign of Queen Anne the Lord Lieutenants began to think that their residence in Ireland could be very well limited to the periods during which the Irish Parliament was in session, and established a precedent which was followed by almost all their successors until some time after George III ascended the throne. As the Irish Parliament usually met only every second year, and the session as a rule lasted under six months, the result was to permit the Viceroy to spend three-fourths of his time in England. The practice began with Queen Anne's uncle, Lord Rochester, who was Lord Lieutenant from 1701 to 1703, and whose residence in Ireland was under four months. His successor, James, second Duke of Ormond, who was Lord Lieutenant from 1703 to 1707, owing to his connection with the country, managed to extend each of his two visits to about nine months. But Lord Pembroke had emulated Lord Rochester, and contrived to escape in exactly four months.

to employ your care towards the pushing on our business. If you have success, it will reward your pains, and I will take care that the clergy shall not be ignorant to whom they are obliged.

I have always been of opinion that the Ministry have no mind that we should have any militia in Ireland for the ardour of the people to raise it, is not encouraged as it would be if the Government heartily designed it.¹ And yet at this juncture it is of absolute necessity, since of the five thousand men that were left of the army, above a thousand are to be transported. If the Pretender had landed and our forces sent to Scotland as they must have been we had been in an ill taking having nothing to trust to but a militia to be raised. I believe the providence of this disappointment is more than the generality are apprised of.

I take it for granted our Parliament will hold one session more, for if that be not intended, it had been nonsense to continue it an hour. One thing there is remarkable that such as made the greatest noise to procure the Papists to be confined on the invasion and quarrelled that they were not more severely used, at last became bail for the most obnoxious and dangerous amongst them.²

I find Sir Martin Marall's humour grows on me,³ and now my hand is in I know not when to cease. I judge others by myself, and being weary here I suppose you so too before you come this far, and therefore I dismiss you with the prayers of, Reverend Sir,

Yours, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Mr. Swift.

¹ Cf. Froude's opinion on this question (*supra*, p. 81, n. 1).

² A considerable number of Roman Catholics in Ireland were deprived of their liberty when the invasion of the French was apprehended (*supra*, p. 80, n. 3). In an order dated 5 April, 1708, the Lords Justices and Privy Council directed that thirty-five gentlemen of "the Popish Religion," who had been committed into the custody of the Constable of the Castle of Dublin under a previous order, should be enlarged on entering into recognisances of 2000*l.* each with sufficient security. Amongst those confined were two knights, ten colonels, three other officers, a barrister, and a doctor. (Miscellaneous Papers prior to 1760 in P.R.O. of Ireland.)

³ The allusion is to the principal character in Dryden's comedy, "Sir Martin Mar-all or The Feigned Innocence."

XXXIX. [*Aldine Edition of Swift's Poetical Works.*]

SWIFT TO AMBROSE PHILIPS

London, July 10, 1708.

I WAS very well pleased to hear you were so kind to remember me in your letter to Mr. Addison, but infinitely better to have a line from yourself.¹ Your saying that you know nothing of your affairs more than when you left us, puts me in mind of a passage in Don Quixote, where Sancho, upon his master's first adventure, comes and asks him for the island he had promised, and which he must certainly have won in that terrible combat: to which the Knight replied in these memorable words:—Look ye, Sancho, all adventures are not adventures of islands, but many of them of dry blows, and hunger, and hard lodging; however, take courage, for one day or other, all of a sudden, before you know where you are, an island will fall into my hands as fit for you as a ring for the finger.² In the meantime the adventures of my Lord and you are likely to pass with less danger and with less hunger, so that you need less patience to stay till midwife Time will please to deliver this commission from your womb of Fate. I wish the victory we have got, and the scenes you pass through would put you into humour of writing a pastoral to celebrate the Duke of Marlborough, who, I hope, will soon be your General. My Lord and you may, perhaps, appear

¹ This is the first of several letters from Swift to Ambrose Philips—the Pastoral Philips of the *Journal to Stella* and the Namby Pamby of Pope's satire—letters which seemed to Forster ("Life," p. 212) "the perfection, the *decus et deliciae*, of easy natural unstudied letter writing, where every sentence, simple as it appears, has some point of humour, or one of those unexpected turns of good-natured raillery that are the delight of witty conversation." As will be seen from these letters, Philips was at York with Lord Mark Kerr, the third son of Robert, first Marquis of Lothian, when it was written. Apparently Kerr, who was an officer in the army, and had been wounded at the battle of Almanza in the previous year, was stationed at York, and Philips was serving under him. Although there is no mention of his having been in the army in any notice of Philips, it seemed not unlikely from the fact mentioned by Dr. Johnson that "he was eminent for bravery and skill in the sword." See further under Letter LVI.

² This is a paraphrase and not the actual words.

well enough to the York ladies from the distance of a window, but you will both be deceived if you venture any nearer. They will dislike his Lordship's manner and conversation, as too southern by three degrees; and as for your part, what notion have they of spleen or sighing for an absent mistress? I am not so good an astronomer to know whether Venus ever cuts the Arctic Circle, or comes within the vortex of Ursa Major; nor can I conceive how love can ripen where gooseberries will not.

The triumvirate of Mr. Addison, Steele, and me, come together as seldom as the sun, moon and earth:¹ I often see each of them, and each of them me and each other; and when I am of the number justice is done you as you would desire.

I hope you have no intentions of fixing for any time in the North—*sed nec in arctoo sedem tibi figeris orbe*; but let my Lord Mark, though he is your north star, guide you to the south. I have always had a natural antipathy to places that are famous for ale. Wine is the liquor of the Gods and ale of the Goths; and thus I have luckily found out the reason of the proverb—to have guts in one's brain; that is, what a wise man eats and drinks rises upwards, and is the nourishment of his head, where all is digested, and, consequently, a fool's brains are in his guts, where his beef, and thoughts, and ale descend. Yet your hours would pass more agreeably if you could forget every absent friend and mistress you have, because of that *impotens desiderium*, than which nothing is a more violent feeder of the spleen, and there is nothing in life equal to recompense that.

Pray tell my Lord Mark Kerr I humbly acknowledge the honour of his remembrance, and am his most obedient servant; tell him I love him as an *homme de bien, honeste, dégagé, désintéressé, libéral, et qui se connoît bien en hommes*.²

¹ *Supra*, p. 80, n. 1.

² "He was a man of marked and decided character, with the strictest notions of honour and good breeding; he retained perhaps too punctilious an observance of etiquette as it gave him an air of frivolity. He was soldierlike in his appearance; formal in his deportment; whimsical, even finical in his dress, but he commanded respect wherever he went, for none dared to laugh at his singularities. Manners which in foreign courts, where they had been acquired, would have passed unobserved, were considered as fantastic in his own country and were apt to lead his impatient spirit into rencontres too often fatal to his antagonists. Naturally of a good temper, his frequent

As for you, I have nothing to wish mended but your fortune; and in the meantime, a little cheerfulness, added to your humour, because it is so necessary towards making your court. I will say nothing to all your kind expressions, but that if I have deserved your friendship as much as I have endeavoured to cultivate it, ever since I knew you, I should have as fair pretensions as any man could offer. And if you are a person of so much wit and invention as to be able to find out any use for my service, it will increase my good opinion both of you and myself.

St. James's Coffee-house is grown a very dull place upon two accounts, first by the loss of you, and secondly of everybody else.¹ Mr. Addison's lameness goes off daily, and so does he, for I see him seldomer than formerly, and, therefore, cannot revenge myself of you by getting ground in your absence. Colonel Frowde is just as he was, very friendly and *grand réveur et distrait*.² He has brought his poems almost to perfection, and I have great credit with him, because I can listen when he reads, which neither you, nor the Addisons, nor Steeles ever can. I am interrupted by a foolish old woman; and besides here is enough. Mr. Addison has promised to send this, for I know not where to direct, nor have you instructed me. I am,

Ever your most faithful humble Servant,

J. SWIFT.

appeals to the sword on trivial occasions drew on him the imputation of being a quarrelsome man, but he was inoffensive unless provoked, and never meddled with any, but such as chose to meddle with him" (Sir Robert Douglas's "Scottish Peerage," edited by John Philip Wood, Edin., 1813, ii, 139).

¹ An Irish visitor to London writes to a friend in Dublin on 8 March in that year that "St. James's Coffee-house is the rendezvous of our countrymen." (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland.)

² As Mr. Aitken has proved ("The Journal to Stella," London, 1901, p. 58), it is Philip Frowde (*supra*, p. 80, n. 1) who is referred to here as Colonel Frowde. There is nothing known, however, of his connection with the army. Gay, in "Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece" speaks of him as "wandering Frowde."

XL. [*Copy.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *August 12, 1708.*

REVEREND SIR,

IT is some time since I heard from you, which makes me a little uneasy. I have been hindered from writing for near a month by the gout in my right hand, which is a great mortification to me.² I received a letter from Mr. Dodington in which he tells me that my Lord Lieutenant has made some progress in the affair of our twentieth parts and first fruits.³ I wish he may be able to put it in a good way, which I believe is all will be done at present for my Lord did not encourage us to hope for it before a peace. I reckon if my Lord return to us again something will be done, but if not, the Ministry will hardly be persuaded to gratify us in such a matter by a dying Lord Lieutenant.

I suppose you have an account of what passed in the University about the vindication of King William's memory. It is really strange that any should be found so prodigiously ungrateful to him, at least in Ireland where we owe all to him, but Mr. Forbes that used him so barbarously was from Scotland and had studied in Aberdeen, and taken his degrees there.⁴ I do own the Church of Scotland was

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 51, n. 3.

³ George Dodington, who was Secretary to Lord Pembroke during his viceroyalty, was an uncle of the celebrated George Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe. The latter was the son of George Dodington's sister, who married a fortune-hunter called Jeremias Bubb, and took the name of Dodington as his uncle's heir. The Dodington family had been established from very early times in Somersetshire, where there is a parish called by their name, and George Dodington seems to have inherited considerable property from his father, who was secretary to Thurloe, and is said to have been a learned and ingenious man. Before coming to Ireland George Dodington had been secretary to the Earl of Oxford and Treasurer to the Navy, and was afterwards a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty ("Hist. of Somersetshire," by Rev. John Collinson, iii, 518). He is said by one of his contemporaries to have been full of high opinions, probity, and application, but not to have had the least care for officials under him (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland, under date 13 December, 1707).

⁴ In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury King says that at the

hardly used in his time, but I reckon that his misfortune not fault, for had they espoused him as cordially as the other party, he would never have altered anything there more than in Ireland. But Government must be supported and it is a plain case if we will not do it, those that will must be embraced, and that was the case in Scotland. On serious reflection I am apt to think that there are hardly any men less politic for themselves than clergymen and we perhaps least of any.

I have revolved again and again the oraculous saying of the great man you mention in your last, and discoursed Mr. Southwell about it, but cannot unriddle it.¹ I have thought of two or three meanings it may have, but they appear to me either so trifling or so wicked that I cannot allow myself to think that I have hit right.

We have lately had four young men candidates for orders amongst the Dissenters here, that have deserted them, they seem sober and of good sense, but the difficulty is what to do with them; we are overstocked already, and we must either maintain them out of our own pockets or let them starve. I have engaged for one, my Lord Primate for another, and I hope some of our brethren will come in for the other two. I heartily recommend you, etc.

Dr. Swift.

W. D[UBLIN].

Proctors' feast, the day before the previous Commencements, on a young man proposing a health to the glorious memory of King William, "a thing so constantly used in Ireland that hardly any entertainment passes without it," Forbes, who was a candidate for an *ad eundem* master of arts degree, took occasion to reflect "most rudely and scandalously" upon that sovereign's memory. Owing to the heads of the College not having been acquainted with the facts Forbes was allowed to take his degree the next day, but was afterwards expelled from the College and suspended from his degree by them, and subsequently, at a meeting of the Senate of the University, was deprived of his degree and degraded from his University rights (King's Correspondence, under date 5 August, 1708, and cf. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

¹ *Supra*, p. 93.

XLI. [*Original.*¹]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *August* 28, 1708.

I HOPE you will excuse my want of ceremony, occasioned by my desire to give a full answer to yours of the 12th. What hindered my writing was the want of confidence to trouble you when I had nothing of importance to say; but if you give me leave to do it at other times, I shall obey you with great satisfaction, and I am heartily sorry for the occasion that hath prevented you, because it is a loss to the public as well as to me. The person who sent you the letter about progress made in that matter is one who would not give threepence to save all the established clergy in both kingdoms from the gallows;² and to talk of not encouraging you to hope for it before a peace is literally *dare verba* and nothing else. But in the small conversation I have had among great men, there is one maxim I have found them constantly to observe, which is, that in any business before them, if you enquire how it proceeds, they only confide what is proper to answer, without one single thought whether it be agreeable to fact or no. For instance, here is Lord Treasurer assures me that what you ask is a trifle, that the Queen would easily consent to it, and he would do so too; then adds some general conditions, etc., as I told you before; then comes Lord Lieutenant assures me that the other has nothing at all to do with it, and that it is not to come before him, and that he has made some progress in it;³ and hints to you, it seems, that it will be hardly done before a peace. The progress he means, must be something

¹ In Armagh Library. (*Supra*, p. 60, n. 1.) The greater portion of the letter is printed by Forster ("Life," p. 242).

² In writing to Sunderland from Ireland, Dodington (*supra*, p. 102, n. 3) denounced in unmeasured terms the Bishops and clergy for their opposition to the repeal of the Test, and expressed the opinion that the Protestants of Ireland were as priest-ridden as the people of Italy. He reported that the Bishops—"the holy prelates," as he called them—were without exception as high as Laud, and that "such a monster" as an Irish Protestant Jacobite was not uncommon (Froude, *op. cit.*, 321, 323).

³ *Supra*, pp. 93, 94.

entirely between the Queen and himself, for the two chief Ministers assure me they never heard of the matter from him; and in God's name, what sort of progress can he mean?

In the mean time, I have not stirred a step further; being unwilling to ruin myself in any man's favour, when I can do the public no good. And therefore, I had too much art to desire Lord Treasurer not to say anything to the other of what I had spoke unless I could get leave, which was refused me; and therefore I omitted speaking again to Lord Sunderland,¹ which however I am resolved to do when he comes to town, only in order to explain something that I only conjectured. Upon the whole I am of opinion that the progress yet made is just the same, with that of making me General of the Horse; and the Duke of Ormond² thinks so too; and gave me some reasons of his own. Therefore I think the reason why this thing is not done, can be only perfect neglect or want of sufficient inclination; or perhaps a better principle, I mean a dislike to the conditions, and unwillingness to act them. I think Mr. Southwell and I agreed in our interpretation of that oracular saying which has perplexed you, and fixed it upon the Test.³ Whether that be among the trifling or wicked meanings you thought of, I need not ask. Whatever methods you would please to have me take in this or any other matter, for the service of the public or yourself, I shall readily obey. And if the matter does not stick at that mystical point before mentioned, I am sure, with common application, it might be done in a month.

I was told some time ago by a great person of that business of Forbes, with much aggravation, and abominable additions, and having given him a true account as I could, the next time I saw him, he told me at dinner, among much company that he had further intelligence, and made the matter still worse, and seemed inclined to think his account was righter than mine. I had the same from several others, and I have reason to know there are men in great office on your side who make it their business to do all the hurt they can by misrepresenting the clergy and University, of which I believe I have in former

¹ *Supra*, p. 94.

² *Supra*, p. 50, n. 3.

³ *Supra*, p. 94.

letters given you instances, that have been related to me by persons I cannot mention at this distance.¹ I think a particular account of Forbes's matter ought to be transmitted and published here. The part which the Archbishop of Dublin had in prosecuting it has been extremely well taken on this side, and I am glad of the City's gratitude to him.² I congratulate with you for the converts you mention, and hope they are sincere, because they can propose little temporal interest as your circumstances are. However, I doubt whether, on this side of the water, they would meet with so good encouragement.

We are now every day expecting news from abroad of the greatest importance, nothing less than a battle, a siege raised, or Lille taken.³ Wagers run two to one for the last. In the last Gazette it was certainly affirmed that there would be a battle: but the copy coming to the office to be corrected I prevailed with them to let me soften the phrase a little, so as to leave some room for possibilities;⁴ and I do not find the soldiers here are so very positive. However, it is a period of the greatest expectation I ever remember, and God in his mercy send a good issue. This is all I have to say at present. I will soon write again if any other thing be worth sending, and then it shall be in more form.

¹ The idea was prevalent in England that there was at that time a strong Jacobite faction in Trinity College, and, so far as the students were concerned, there seems to have been some ground for that view. King says in the letter already cited (*supra*, p. 102, n. 4) that it was supposed "several from England and Scotland have been of late industrious secretly to corrupt our youth, especially in the College." The heads of the College were, however, thoroughly loyal to the Hanover succession, and in the Senate "all the old and stayed men" voted for Forbes's degradation, and only "some young men" opposed it.

² This sentence was evidently framed to mislead the postal officials, in the event of their opening the letter, as to the person to whom it was written. Like the two previous letters from Swift to King (*supra*, pp. 85, 92), this one bears no address or superscription, and was probably enclosed, like them, in one to Dean Stearne. Forster thought ("Life," p. 240) that it was addressed to Primate Marsh.

³ Lille had then been invested for some weeks by Marlborough and his allies. The town was thought impregnable, and the siege excited extraordinary interest throughout Europe.

⁴ As Forster notes ("Life," p. 243), this incident shows not only Swift's interest, but also his influence over Steele (p. 80, n. 1) at that time.

XLII. [*Copy.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *September 7, 1708.*

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 28th of August last, your letters are always very acceptable to me, and therefore you need [not] suspect that I will think them troublesome. The generality of the world writ in a mask and the want of a true knowledge of the humour of people on your side the water, cause many errors on this. One comes from England and tells with confidence that the Ministry and Court expect such a thing from us, that we shall be lost in their opinion if we do not comply, and vouch A and B etc. for what he says; none do inquire into the truth of what he affirms nor have the generality any way to do so, and therefore they run after him like a flock of sheep, and very often into a pit. At first when this artifice was used, I was surprised and thought I ventured much when [I] presumed to oppose mischievous things, and when so recommended. But a little experience taught me either that such allegations were absolutely false, or if any truth in them they were procured by persuading those great men, that either the humour of the people of Ireland would be gratified by the recommendation, or that the necessity of the affairs of Ireland in order to serve the Ministry required it. For I found the good of Ireland has no weight at all. And it is a great mistake in all the applications we make, to allege as we commonly do that such a thing will help or mischief us, for perhaps those considerations will have a quite different effect from what we intend; and therefore I have always advised those that have expressed their fear of such a matter, and run into the detail of the inconveniences that would follow it, to conceal their thoughts, and not discover that it would have such consequences. Perhaps if those to whom they make application to prevent them knew what would follow, it would be an insuperable argument for their doing it. It moves one's spleen to find a clergyman pressing the ruin

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

of the Church if a certain thing be done, when perhaps that is the reason that it is to be done.

As to the affair of our twentieth parts and first fruits, I partly guess where it sticks. I have had another letter from Mr. Dodington in very obliging terms;¹ but my Lord Lieutenant having hinted to my Lord Primate and me, when we discoursed him about them, that perhaps we were not to expect them till a peace, I have little hope of them. I do not know but an immediate application of the Bishops to L[ord] T[reasurer] might bring them. If there should happen an interregnum of chief governors, I believe it would be a seasonable opportunity to make such an application.

I sent a full account of Forbes's business to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who has acknowledged the receipt of it, and adds that I have obliged him and many others that are hearty friends to the Universities, against which he says this occasioned a mighty cry.² We know there are not wanting good men, that make it their business to lay hold on all such occasions and to aggravate them; the design seems not against the Church, but against learning in general, and all that is regular either in religion or polity. And some amongst us are so wise as to think that the destroying of these is a good argument against the design that infers it. But they do not consider that when Cromwell had destroyed the King and kingship, he did it with a design to get them for himself. I am, etc.,

W. D[UBLIN].

Query:—Is there nothing of a comprehension designed on your side? May not the oracle hint something of that nature?³

Dr. Swift.

¹ *Supra*, p. 102.

² *Supra*, p. 102, n. 4.

³ There does not appear to have been any ground for thinking that the scheme for comprehension was likely to be revived. "The oracle" aimed undoubtedly at a repeal of the Test (*supra*, p. 105).

XLIH. [*Aldine Edition of Swift's Poetical Works.*]SWIFT TO AMBROSE PHILIPS¹

London, September 14, 1708.

NOTHING is a greater argument that I look on myself as one whose acquaintance is perfectly useless, than that I am not so constant or exact in writing to you as I should otherwise be, and I am glad at heart to see Mr. Addison, who may live to be serviceable to you, so mindful in your absence. He has reproached me more than once for not frequently sending him a letter to convey to you. That man has worth enough to give reputation to an age, and all the merit I can hope for with regard to you, will be my advice to cultivate his friendship to the utmost, and my assistance to do you all the good offices towards it in my power.

I have not seen Lord Mark² these three weeks, nor have heard anything of him, but his poetry, which a lady showed me some time ago; it was some love-verses, but I have forgot the matter and the subject, or rather the object, though I think they were to Mrs. Hales.

I can fit you with no fable at present, unless it should be of the man that rambled up and down to look for Fortune, at length came home and saw her lying at a man's feet who was fast asleep, and never stirred a step; this I reflected on the other day, when my Lord Treasurer gave a young fellow, a friend of mine, an employment sinecure of four hundred pounds a year, added to one of three hundred pounds he had before. I hope, though you are not yet a captain, Lord M[ark] has so much consideration to provide you with pay suitable to the expense and trouble you are at, or else you are the greatest dupe, and he the greatest — on earth; and I wish you would tell me plainly how that matter passes. You say nothing of the fair one. I hope you are easier on that foot than when you left us, else I shall either wish her hanged or you married, but whether to her or some Yorkshire lady with ten thousand

¹ *Supra*, p. 99, n. 1.² Lord Mark Kerr (*ibid.*).

pounds, I am somewhat in doubt. There is some comfort that you will learn your trade of a soldier in this expedition, at least the most material part of it, long marches, ill diet, hard lodging, and scurvy company. I wish you would bring us home half a dozen pastorals, though they were all made up of complaints of your mistress, and of fortune. Lady Betty Germain is upon all occasions stirring up Lord Dorset, to show you some marks of his favour, which I hope may one day be of good effect, or he is good for nothing.¹ Lord Pembroke is going to be married to Lady Arundell.² We are here crammed with hopes and fears about the siege of Lille, and the expectations of a battle;

¹ Lady Elizabeth Germain, who was the second daughter of the Earl of Berkeley (*supra*, p. 31, n. 1), had known Swift from the time when he acted as chaplain to her father in Dublin Castle, and evidently, from lines which she attached to some of his verses, appreciated the humour which he brought to bear on their family circle. Although in his dedication to Lady Berkeley of his "Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners," Swift speaks of her daughters as incomparable, and says their conduct was universally admired, some discredit has been thrown on the fair fame of Lady Betty in her early days (*cf.* "Prose Works," iii, 28, and "D. N. B.," xxi, 230). If true, this renders her marriage as a young woman of twenty-six to Sir John Germain less inexplicable than it would otherwise seem. His name had become notorious in connection with repeated attempts which Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk, had made to obtain an Act of Parliament enabling his divorce from his wife, the only daughter of Henry, second Earl of Peterborough; and this lady, who on the Act being at last passed had married Germain, had died only a short time before Lady Betty gave him her hand. Germain's education is said to have been as defective as his morals. According to Evelyn (*op. cit.*, iii, 150), Germain was a Dutch gamester of mean extraction, but there is a suspicion that favour shown him by William III arose from knowledge that they were not remotely connected ("D. N. B.," xxi, 235). Through his first wife Germain succeeded to a great estate which passed ultimately to a son of the Lord Dorset—Lionel Cranfield Sackville, then seventh Earl and afterwards first Duke—who is here mentioned. The only connection between Germain and Dorset is said to have been the marriage of the latter to the daughter of Germain's "friend and colleague in the Dutch service," Field Marshal Walter Philip Colyear, which took place four months after the date of this letter. As he came of age only then, Dorset's power to further Ambrose Philips' fortunes cannot have been great, but probably his influence was to be used with Lord Halifax, whom he had as a youth accompanied on the mission to the Elector of Hanover.

² Lord Pembroke (*supra*, p. 60, n. 3) married on 21 September, 1708, at St. James's, Westminster, as his second wife the widow of John, second Baron Arundell of Trerice. She had been previously married to Sir Richard Mauleverer and was a daughter of Sir Thomas Slingsby.

but I believe you have little humour for public reflections.¹ For my part I think your best course is to try whether the Bishop of Durham will give you a niece and a golden prebend, unless you are so high a Whig that your principles, like your mistress, are at Geneva.²

I have never been a night from this town since you left, and could envy you if your mind were in a condition to enjoy the pleasures of the country. But I hope you will begin to think of London, and not dream of wintering in the North, *Scoticas pati pruinas*.

There has been an essay of Enthusiasm lately published, that has run mightily, and is very well writ.³ All my friends will have me to be the author, *sed ego non credulus illis*. By the free Whiggish thinking I should rather take it to be yours; but mine it is not, for though I am every day writing by speculations in my chamber, they are quite of another sort.⁴

I expect to see you return very fat with Yorkshire ale. Pray let us know when we are to expect you, and resolve this winter to be a man of levees, and to be a man of hopes, and who knows what that may produce against spring. I

¹ *Supra*, p. 106, n. 3.

² The see of Durham was then held by Nathaniel, third Baron Crew of Sterne, who sacrificed the interests of his Church to gain "the gracious smiles" of James II. He was twice married, but had no children.

³ The "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," by Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury.

⁴ The "by speculations" were doubtless the writings in which Swift embodied his views at that time on questions concerning Religion and the Church. In the year 1708 he is said to have written the "Argument against abolishing Christianity," the "Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Morals," the "Sentiments of a Church of England Man," the "Remarks upon 'the Rights of the Christian Church,'" and the "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test" ("Prose Works," iii, 1, 21, 49, 77; vol. iv, 1). In a list of his writings headed "Subjects for a Volume," which was found in his handwriting on the back of a letter addressed to him in October 1708—a letter which is not included in the Correspondence—Swift mentions the first four. It is possible, however, that they may not then have taken their final shape. There is doubt as to the exact dates of their publication, but certainly the "Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners," which is called in the list "Project for the Reformation of Manners," was not issued before March 1709 (see Letter LXII). The fact that the "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," which is dated 4 December, 1708, is not included in the list shows that the list must have been made in October or early in November.

am sure no man wishes you better, or would do more in his power to bring those wishes to effect, which though they are expressions usually offered most freely by those that can do least; I hope you will do me the justice to believe them, and myself to be entirely

Your most faithful and most humble servant

J. SWIFT.

I saw Dr. Englis to-day, who tells me Lord Mark has grace to consider you so far, as not to travel at your own charges.

XLIV. [*Original*.¹]

ANTHONY HENLEY TO SWIFT

September 16, Grange.

YESTERDAY the weather-glass was at twenty-eight inches, which is lower than ever I saw it; the wind was at east, a very dull quarter; the garden so wet, there was no looking into it; and I myself, by consequence, in the spleen. Before night, the glass rose, the wind changed, the garden dried, I received your letter, and was as well as ever I was in my life, to my thinking, though perhaps you may think otherwise. The reason why your letter was so long a coming to my hands, was, its being directed to me near Winchester; and Alresford is the post-town nearest to me.² If

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² Anthony Henley, the father of Lord Northington, who held the great seal of England in no less than four administrations during the reigns of George II and George III, is said to have been one of the most accomplished men of the age of Queen Anne, and was a great contrast to his son, who was more forceful than refined. In the opinion of his contemporaries, Henley had a genius which fitted him to rise to the highest place in the State, but pleasure, as well as the Muses, had allured him from a life of toil, and when his death took place three years later, as mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, his reputation was greater than his performances. Henley, who represented the borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis in Parliament for many years, was a Whig, and in Swift's references to him in the *Journal to Stella*, there is generally a note of disparagement, but as is evident from subsequent letters, as well as from this one, they were close friends so long as their politics were in agreement, and Henley was



A VIEW AT MOOR PARK, SURREY

Stella's Cottage in the distance



MOOR PARK HOUSE, SURREY

From photographs by Miss Irene Kathleen Falkiner

the officers should come to you, Doctor, if you want a security, that your children shall not be troublesome to the parish, pray make use of me. I will stand them all, though you were to have as many as the Holland Countess.¹ We have had a tedious expectation of the success of the siege of Lille: the country people begin to think there is no such thing, and say the newspapers talk of it to make people bear paying taxes a year longer. I do not know how Steele will get off of it: his veracity is at stake in Hampshire. Pray desire him to take the town, though he should leave the citadel for a nest-egg.² I have not the honour to know Colonel Hunter: but I never saw him in so good company as you have put him in, Lord Halifax, Mr. Addison, Mr. Congreve, and the Gazetteer. Since he is there, let him stay there.³ Pray, Doctor, let me know whether writing letters be talking to one's self, or talking to other folks: for I think the world has settled it, that talking to one's self, which offends nobody, is madness; and talking to other people, which generally is not quite so harmless, is wit, or good breeding, or religion, or—I will not write a word more till you have satisfied me what I have been

willing to include Swift in the bounty which he was ever ready to extend to such of his literary friends as were in need. At the Grange, which is situated near a hamlet called Northington in the parish of Swarraton in Hampshire, Henley had inherited a house which was designed by Inigo Jones, and which Horace Walpole considered one of the best proofs of that famous architect's taste. Whether Walpole's judgement, from which others dissented, was well founded, cannot now be determined, as the house has given place to a handsome modern mansion, the residence of Lord Ashburton.

¹ The famous Penelope Devereux, the Stella of Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets, whose second son by her first husband (Lord Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick) was the first Earl Holland.

² *Supra*, p. 106.

³ The only composition by Colonel Hunter now known is a farce, but Swift, who must have formed a high estimate of Hunter's literary ability, attributed to him the authorship of the "Letter concerning Enthusiasm" (*supra*, p. 111), which led him in writing to Henley to class Hunter with Halifax, Addison, Congreve, and Steele. Robert Hunter, who was a cavalry officer, had served at Blenheim and had been appointed in 1707 Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, the chief governor of which was at that time the Earl of Orkney, who had been one of the Duke of Marlborough's generals in the great battle. The ship in which Hunter sailed to take over charge of the province, was captured by a French privateer, and at the time Henley was writing Hunter was a prisoner in France.

doing all this while. I am sure one need not have writ two pages to introduce my assuring you that I am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. HENLEY.

Addressed—For the Revd. Dr. Swift at St. James's Coffee-house in Pall Mall.

Endorsed by Swift—Mr. Henley, September 16, 1708, I suppose.

XLV. [*Nichols' Illustrations of Literary History.*]

SWIFT TO AMBROSE PHILIPS

Havisham,¹ October 20, 1708.

SIR,²

I AM glad at heart you are come to town, where I shall be in a few days, having left it only as fastidious when I was weary of its emptiness and my own; but *quibus Hector ab oris?* You will be admirable company after your new refined travels, I hope you met subjects for new pastorals, unless the new character as a soldier has swaggered out those humble ideas, and that you consider the field no longer as a shepherd, but a hero.

I was ignorant of Lille till your letter came, and I hope you will so order it that we shall have no difficulty in the citadel.³ My host Mr. Collier was your schoolfellow at Shrewsbury, and in that capacity presents you his service, and you will mine to Colonel Hunt[er],⁴ Mr. Addison, Mr. Steele etc. I am,

Most sincerely yours,

J. S.

I must write your Christian name in the address, lest it should fall into the hands of the Irish poetical Captain.⁵

¹ From a subsequent letter (*infra*, p. 115) it appears that Swift was staying in Kent. So far as I am aware there is no place in that county, or anywhere in England, called Havisham. Possibly Swift wrote Harrietsham—a Kent parish in which there was then a fine manor-house—and there was a mistake on the part of the transcriber.

² *Supra*, p. 99, n. 1.

³ Lille (*supra*, p. 106, n. 3) had capitulated on the 12th of that month. The garrison was, however, allowed to retire into the citadel, which was not taken for several weeks.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 113, n. 3.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 141, n. 2.

XLVI. [*Original.*]

ANTHONY HENLEY TO SWIFT

November 2, 1708.

DEAR DOCTOR,²

THOUGH you will not send me your Broomstick,³ I will send you as good a reflection upon death as even Hadrian's⁴ himself, though the fellow was but an old farmer of mine, that made it. He had been ill a good while; and when his friends saw him a going, they all came croaking about him as usual; and one of them asking him how he did, he replied, in great pain, "If I could but get this same breath out of my body, I'd take care, by God, how I let it come in again." This, if it were put in fine Latin, I fancy would make as good a sermo as any I have met with.⁵ I am,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. HENLEY.

XLVII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, November 9, 1708.

MY LORD,

YOUR Grace's letter of September 7th, found me in Kent, where I took the opportunity to retire, during my Lord Pembroke's absence with his new lady, who are

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 112, n. 2.

³ The "Meditation upon a Broomstick," by means of which Swift practised a *bite* upon his friend, Lady Berkeley (*supra*, p. 71, n. 1), in representing it as a work of her favourite author, the Hon. Robert Boyle, is said to have been written in 1704 ("Prose Works," i, 332). The earliest copy so far discovered was published in 1710, but it seems probable that the parody was in print at the time this letter was written.

⁴ See "Translations, Literal and Free, of the Dying Hadrian's Address to his Soul," collected and arranged by David Johnston, Bath, 1876.

⁵ This anecdote is related also by Swift in "Thoughts on Various Subjects" ("Prose Works," i, 278) and by Steele in the "Tatler."

both expected to-morrow.¹ I went afterwards to Epsom,² and returned but yesterday: this was the cause of my so long omitting to acknowledge your letter. I am ready to agree with your Grace, that very wrong representations are made of things and persons here, by people who reside on this side but a short time, converse at second or third hand, and on their return make a vanity of knowing more than they do.³ This I have observed myself in Ireland, even among people of some rank and quality; and I believe your Grace will proceed on much better grounds, by trusting to your own wisdom and experience of things, than such intelligence.

I spoke formerly all I knew of the twentieth parts; and whatever Mr. D[odington] hath said in his letters about staying until a peace, I do assure your Grace, is nothing but words.⁴ However, that matter is now at an end. There is a new world here;⁵ and yet I agree with you, that if there be an interregnum, it will be the properest time to address my Lord Treasurer; and I shall second it with all the credit I have, and very openly; and I know not, if [no] difficulty lies in the way, but it may prove a lucky juncture.

On my return from Kent, the night of the Prince's death, I stayed a few days in town before I went to Epsom. I then visited a certain great man, and we entered very freely into discourse upon the present juncture.⁶ He assured me, there was no doubt now of the scheme holding about the Admiralty, the government of Ireland, and presidency of the Council⁷—the disposition whereof your Grace knows as well as I; and although I care not to mingle public affairs with the interest of so private a person as

¹ *Supra*, p. 110, n. 2.

² Where it was then still "pleasant to see" as in Pepys' day the visitors walking about "without knowing almost what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters" ("Pepys' Diary," ed. Wheatley, iii, 224).

³ *Supra*, p. 107.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 108.

⁵ Owing to the death of Prince George of Denmark, which had taken place on 28 October.

⁶ The "great man" was no doubt Somers or Halifax.

⁷ This scheme, which was accomplished, consisted in giving the office of Lord High Admiral, vacant through the death of Prince George, to Lord Pembroke, and the offices of President of the Council and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which were then held by that nobleman, to Lord Somers and Lord Wharton respectively.

myself, yet, upon such a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the service of a new Government, I would beg your Grace to have favourable thoughts of me on such an occasion; and to assure you, that no prospect of making my fortune, shall ever prevail on me to go against what becometh a man of conscience and truth, and an entire friend to the Established Church.¹ This I say, in case such a thing should happen; for my own thoughts are turned another way, if the Earl of Berkeley's journey to Vienna holds, and the Ministry will keep their promise of making me the Queen's Secretary;² by which I shall be out of the way of parties, until it shall please God I have some place to retire to, a little above contempt; or, if all fail, until your Grace and the Dean of St. Patrick's shall think fit to dispose of that poor town living in my favour.³

Upon this event of the Prince's death, the contention designed with the court about a Speaker is dropped, and all agree in Sir Richard Onslow, which is looked on as another argument for the scheme succeeding.⁴ This I had from the same hand.

As to a comprehension which your Grace seems to doubt an intention of, from what was told me, I can say nothing: doubtless, it must be intended to come to that at last if not worse; but I believe at present, it was meant, that there

¹ The recent changes in the Government meant for Swift "a new and distasteful Ministry" (Craik's "Life," i, 197). It is extraordinary that Swift could have contemplated the possibility of supporting by his pen—for this seems to be his meaning—a Ministry whose views on questions affecting the Church were completely at variance with those which he was expressing at that very moment in the tracts on which he was engaged (*supra*, p. 111, n. 4).

² Before he came to Ireland as a Lord Justice (*supra*, p. 31, n. 1), Lord Berkeley had been envoy to Madrid and also to the States of Holland. Although he had taken no part in public life during the seven years that had elapsed since his return from Ireland, it would appear from this reference, as well as from subsequent allusions, that he contemplated at the time this letter was written undertaking again diplomatic employment.

³ *Supra*, p. 72, n. 1.

⁴ The election of Sir Richard Onslow, who is described by Lord Stanhope (*op. cit.*, p. 373) as a gentleman of moderate Whig principles, was the result of a compromise. The Queen had desired the appointment of William Bromley, an ardent supporter of the High Church party, who became Speaker on the Tory reaction in 1710.

should be a consent to what was endeavoured at in your Parliament last session.¹

I thought to have writ more largely to your Grace, imagining I had much matter in my head; but it fails, or is not convenient at present. If the scheme holds, I shall make bold to tell your Grace my thoughts as formerly, under cover, because I believe there will be a great deal to be thought of and done. A little time may produce a great deal. Things are now in great suspense both at home and abroad. The Parliament, we think, will have no prorogation. There is no talk of the Duke of Marlborough's return yet. Speculative people talk of a peace this winter, of which I can form no prospect, according to our demands. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

Your Grace will please to direct your commands to me at St. James's Coffee-house, in St. James's Street.

XLVIII. [*Original*.²]

SWIFT TO ARCHDEACON WALLS

London, *November 9, 1708.*

WHY: I was told five months ago that you had about six or seven and twenty pounds of mine from Parvisol, and has the puppy never increased it since?³ And have I lived here like a poor rogue in hope of a sum to put out to interest? And is it all come to this? You Irish folks lie under an ill name for honesty; not that I suspect you, but perhaps you are upon a purchase, and make use of some of my money; you can do no less than pay me interest.

Sir, if Mr. King dies I have desired people to tell the

¹ *Supra*, p. 67, n. 1.

² In the possession of Mr. John Murray. See Preface.

³ Isaiah Parvisol, who collected Swift's tithes, is frequently mentioned in subsequent letters and in the *Journal to Stella*. Swift refers usually to him in terms of opprobrium, but as Swift made use of Parvisol's services so long as Parvisol lived, it is doubtful whether these references ought always to be taken seriously.

Archbishop that I will have the living for I like it, and he told me I should have the first good one that fell, and you know great men's promises never fail.¹

Ay, ay, look among my books for Livy; and if it be there let the Provost have it.² Mr. Walley was an idle man if he represented any answer of mine wrong.³ All I could say was that I thought I had sent it but would give order it should be looked for among my books. And so I did in one of my letters to Mrs. Dingley or Mrs. Johnson.⁴

We have dropped writing, because he has now no occasion for me, as he thought he had, etc. I need not tell you

¹ The living was that of Swords, which formed the corps of a prebend, known in ancient times as the golden one, in the Cathedral of St. Patrick. The village of Swords, which is situated seven miles to the north of Dublin on the main road to Belfast, occupies the site of a mediaeval town, the property of the see of Dublin, and is well known as containing one of those possessions typical of Ireland, a round tower, as well as remains of a residence of the early Archbishops of Dublin. A year after his translation to Dublin Archbishop King had conferred this living on one of his kinsmen, the Rev. Thomas King (see "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," xxxiii, 258, 439). It is evident that the death of the latter was expected at the time this letter was written, and it occurred before 8 February in the following year, when his successor was appointed. The successor, as Swift seems to have suspected would be the case, was another relation of the Archbishop.

² The Provost of Trinity College at that time was Peter Browne (afterwards Bishop of Cork). His elocution, scholarship, and piety earned for him extraordinary tributes from his contemporaries, and he is still recollected as a metaphysical writer. But he is more generally known as the author of a crusade against the practice of drinking to the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of William III, which he maintained to be a superstitious rite.

³ The Rev. Randolph Walley, to whom Swift alludes, was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1703, and died on 23 April, 1709. He was chaplain to Lord Cutts, the subject of Swift's invective in "The Description of a Salamander" (see "Poetical Works"). A sermon on Psalm xxxvii, 12, 13, preached by Walley before their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland at Christ Church, Dublin, on Monday, 5 November, 1705, was printed and is extant (Royal Irish Academy Tracts).

⁴ A constant correspondence had been maintained between Swift and "the ladies" since he came to England in the preceding year. This appears from a list of the letters received and written by him during the year commencing 1 November, 1708 (see Appendix III). In it the letters to and from "MD" are carefully numbered, as were those which form the Journal to Stella, and begin with the dispatch of the tenth letter from Swift on 12 November, and the receipt of the ninth letter from Stella on 19 November.

more, but I can have him when I will, and if that be the least bit of service to you infallibly I shall resume it, and without the least surmise of your having any share.¹

I am heartily glad of Raymond's good fortune and I write this post to congratulate him upon it. I hope you will advise him to be a good manager, without which the greatest fortune must run out.² When you see Parvisol be so kind to wonder why he pays in no more money to you. I have sent the ladies I think one bill on him for some of their money I received here: but I have had only twenty pounds of him since I came over, even including this I had from you.

My journey to Germany depends on accidents, as well as upon the favour of the Court: if they will make me Queen's Secretary when I am there, as they promise, I will go;³ unless this new change we expect on the Prince's death should alter my measures, for it is thought that most of those I have credit with will come into play. But yet,

¹ This paragraph refers of course to the Provost, who had entered Trinity College in the same year as Swift and was well known to him. In a subsequent reference Swift speaks of Browne as capricious, and indicates that his favour could be caught by flattery, but at the same time seems to have esteemed him for his other qualities, and valued the friendship which Browne showed to Stella.

² The Rev. Anthony Raymond, who is here first mentioned in Swift's correspondence, had succeeded to the rectory of Trim on Stearne's promotion to the deanery of St. Patrick's (*supra*, p. 53, n. 2), and had become one of that small circle of Irish friends who worshipped at Swift's throne, and were treated by him, according to his humour at the moment, either with a disdain that amounted to cruelty, or with a favour that exceeded their merits. Raymond was the son of a confidential friend and agent of the family of the first Lord Kingston—a man bred up from childhood under their maternal ancestor Sir William Fenton, the son of the illustrious Elizabethan writer and statesman ("A Vindication of Sir Robert King's Designs and Actions," Royal Irish Academy Pamphlets)—and had a distinguished course in Dublin University, where he won fellowship. Three years later he retired from collegiate life on his appointment to the rectory of Trim, which he held until his death in 1726. In character Raymond was no less vain than prodigal. Not long before his death he issued a prospectus of a History of Ireland which he had written, and in his will disposes of £2,000 which he was persuaded was the least profit that would result from its sale, but nothing remains of the work except "an appendix collected from the remarks of the learned Dr. Anthony Raymond of Trim," which is attached to the second edition of Keating's "History of Ireland."

³ *Supra*, p. 117.

if they carry things too far, I shall go to Vienna, or even to Laracor, rather than fall in with them.

My most humble service to your punning spouse. The Dean of St. Patrick's repeats strange ones after her and the other ladies. They wash their hands of it, but how clean I cannot tell. Let them look to that.

I fancy the ladies are come to town, pray let them continue to be part of your club: and remember my Saturday dinner against I return; it was a cunning choice that of Saturday, for Mrs. Walls remembered that two Saturdays in four I was at Laracor.¹

Yours etc.,

Addressed—For the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Walls at his house in Cavan Street Dublin, Ireland.

XLIX. [*Hawkesworth*.²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November 20, 1708.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE yours of the 9th instant, and if the scheme of alteration holds, as represented, I despair of our twentieth parts in the present method;³ yet I cannot think it proper to move in any new course, till the declaration of what is intended be more authentic. I have no good ground for my doubt; and yet in my own mind, I make some question, whether all things will be just as surmised. If I find this to be so in earnest, I will then endeavour to

¹ Dean Stearne and Walls were then striving to cheer Stella while she watched and waited, as they did during Swift's subsequent and longer visit to England. At the same season three years later Swift wrote in the *Journal* to Stella that ombre time was coming on, and that she would go to her Dean, or Walls, or Stoytes or Manley, and meet everywhere with cards and claret. It cannot be doubted that the attention shown by these friends to Stella greatly influenced Swift in the partiality which he showed for them.

² There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but the volume in which it is contained was much injured by damp before the Correspondence was acquired by Trinity College Library, and the copy is only partly decipherable. This letter did not reach Swift for a fortnight (see Appendix III).

³ *Supra*, p. 116, n. 7.

obtain an address to my Lord Treasurer, which, I suppose, has been hitherto wanting; but, if the matter stick on any considerations not agreeable, there is an end of it. To deal freely, I have very little hope of succeeding any way: but it will not make things worse to try the experiment.

I understand some Dissenters from hence will apply to the Parliament of England this session, to obtain a repeal of the Test, and for a toleration on a larger foot than in England; and that a fund is raised, and agents appointed to solicit their affairs, by the presbyters of the North. I have had some intimation, that all Dissenters are not of a mind in this point; the other sects, if I am rightly informed, being as much afraid of them as of us; and that they would rather be as they are, than run the hazard of coming under the *jus divinum* of Presbytery. Something pleasant enough is said to have happened on this occasion. A certain person endeavoured to comfort them, and remove their jealousy, by telling them they needed not to fear; for that the greatest friends to Dissenters, and who would be most zealous for toleration, never designed to establish any church, but only to destroy that which had the protection of the laws. Whether this will give them satisfaction I cannot tell; but am certain, that if any have so wicked a design, they will fail in it.

I am often alarmed with the fears of some good men, who would persuade me, that religion is in danger of being rooted out of the hearts of men; and they wondered to see me so sanguine in the cause. But I tell them, that I believe it is with religion, as with paternal affection; some profligate wretches may forget it, and some may dose themselves so long with perverse thinking, as not to see any reason for it; but in spite of all the ill-natured and false philosophy of these two sorts of people, the bulk of mankind will love their children. And so it is, and will be with the fear of God and religion: whatever is general has a powerful cause, though every one cannot find it out.

But I have forgot my Dissenters: the reason of their applying in Great Britain is, because they see little reason to hope for success here; and if I can judge of the sense of gentlemen that compose the Parliament, they never seemed to be farther from the humour of gratifying them.

As to your own concern, you see hardly anything valuable is obtained any otherwise than by the government; and therefore if you can attend the next Lord Lieutenant, you, in my opinion, ought not to decline it.¹ I assure myself that you are too honest to come on ill terms; nor do I believe any will explicitly be proposed. I could give several reasons why you should embrace this, though I have no exception against your secretaryship;² except that you may lose too much time in it, which, considering all things, you cannot so well spare at this time of the day.

As to my own part, I thank God, I was never much frightened by any alterations: neither King James, nor the Earl of Tyrconnel, shocked me.³ I always comforted myself with the hundred and twelfth psalm, seventh verse.⁴ I never was a favourite of any Government, nor have I a prospect of being so, though I believe I have seen forty changes; nor would I advise any friend to sell himself to any, so as to be their slave. I could write some other things, that you would desire to know; but pen and ink are dangerous tools in some men's hands, and I love a friend with an appetite. I am, etc.

W. DUBLIN.

L. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

November 30, 1708.

SIR,

I RECEIVED a letter from you the Lord knows when, for it has no date; but I conceive it to have been a month

¹ The drift of King's recommendation is that Swift should seek the appointment of chaplain to Lord Pembroke's successor. The recent appointment of Lord Pembroke's chaplain to the bishopric of Waterford would have been in the minds of King and Swift (*supra*, p. 70, n. 1).

² *Supra*, p. 117.

³ Archbishop King, who was then Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, unlike most of his brethren, remained in Ireland while King James was in that country. He was twice imprisoned in Dublin Castle by that monarch, and during his first incarceration kept a diary which has been carefully edited with illuminating notes by Professor Lawlor for the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (vol. xxxiii, *passim*).

⁴ "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings: his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

ago, for I met it when I came from Kent, where, and at Epsom, I passed about six weeks,¹ to divert myself the fag-end of the summer, which proved to be the best weather we had. I am glad you made so good a progress in your building; but you had the emblem of industry in your mind, for the bees begin at the top and work downward, and at last work themselves out of house and home, as many of you builders do.²

You know before this the great revolution we have had at Court; and that Dr. Lambert is chaplain to the Lord-Lieutenant: the Archbishop of Canterbury, several other Bishops, and my Lord Treasurer himself would needs have it so. I made no manner of application for that post, upon certain reasons, that I shall let you know, if ever I have the happiness to see you again.³ My Lord Sunderland

¹ *Supra*, p. 116.

² *Supra*, p. 91, n. 3.

³ Thomas, Earl of Wharton, whom Swift assailed with an intense-ness of vituperation unsurpassed in the history of political warfare, and denounced as the most universal villain whom he had ever known ("Prose Works," *passim*) had kissed Queen Anne's hand on 16 November "in order to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland." With that office Wharton's name had been long associated. Before Lord Pembroke's appointment, on 3 April, 1707, Edward Southwell wrote from London that "the town had been very hot again upon my Lord Wharton's going for Ireland upon seeing him out in Hyde Park with a very fine new coach and new liveries with an addition of silver lace to the other" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland), and eight months later a promise that he would be Lord Pembroke's successor was made to him in order to detach him from the ranks of those who were embarrassing the Government by their attacks upon the Admiralty (*supra*, p. 68). It was "everybody's opinion," as Swift tells us ("Prose Works," v, 381), that Wharton's chief aim in the government of Ireland would be the removal of the Test, not only to relieve that country from the effects of its operation, but also to prepare the way for the adoption of a similar policy with regard to England. In the negotiations which such a design would entail, it was of supreme importance to Wharton to have a chaplain who held views in accord with his own, or who could at any rate be trusted not to prove an antagonist. His choice appears to have lain between Swift and another Irish clergyman then in London, the Rev. Ralph Lambert, afterwards successively Bishop of Dromore and Meath. Swift's growing dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Whigs towards the Church must have been known to Wharton, and the mere fact that "no manner of application" was made on Swift's behalf was a sufficient indication that he would not be a subservient member of the viceregal staff. On the other hand Lambert had taken pains to demonstrate his fitness for the position. Swift, who had been in College with him, and appears to have had a kindly feeling towards him, says that Lambert

rallied me on that occasion, and was very well pleased with my answer, that I observed one thing in all new Ministries: for the first week or two they are in a hurry, or not to be seen; and when you come afterward, they are engaged.¹

What I have to say of the public, etc. will be enclosed, which, I suppose, will be shown you, and you will please to deliver as formerly.² Lord Pembroke takes all things mighty well, and we pun together as usual; and he either makes the best use, or the best appearance with his philosophy of any man I ever knew; for it is not believed he is pleased at heart upon many accounts.³

Sir Andrew Fountaine is well, and has either writ to you last post, or designs it soon.⁴ Dr. Pratt is buying good pennyworths of books for the College, and has made some purchases that would set you a longing.⁵ You have heard our mighty news is extremely dwindled in our last packets. However, we expected a very happy end of the campaign, which this sudden thaw, and foul weather, begun here yesterday, will soon bring to an issue.⁶ I am, etc.

had until then "always declared against repealing the Test," and this is corroborated by such of his writings before that time as are extant. But in "a sermon preached to the Protestants of Ireland now residing in London at their anniversary meeting on October 23, 1708, in commemoration of their deliverance from the barbarous massacres committed by the Irish Papists in the year 1641," Lambert, after delivering himself of a diatribe against Roman Catholics in which he gave a gruesome description of their part in the Irish Rebellion, and attributed to them every division amongst Protestants, had urged a closer union between the Church and Nonconformity, and ranged himself on the side of those who were endeavouring to obtain it. To this sermon his appointment as chaplain is attributable.

¹ In his preface to the third part of Temple's "Memoirs," which was written about that time, Swift represents himself as a great admirer of Sunderland (*supra*, p. 87, n. 2), whom he describes as "most learned and excellent," but probably he expresses his more true opinion of Sunderland in the "Examiner," where he describes that lord as "ignorant, wilful, assuming and ill-inclined" ("Prose Works," ix, 101).

² *Supra*, p. 106, n. 2.

³ *Supra*, p. 116, n. 7, p. 117, n. 1.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 84.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 83, n. 1.

⁶ On 23 November it was reported in London that Marlborough and his ally, Prince Eugene, had beaten the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, who was then besieging Brussels, out of their lines with a loss of seventeen battalions taken prisoner, but on 27 November it was found that although the siege had been raised the loss of the Elector was only two hundred men killed and eight hundred taken prisoners.

LI. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *Nov.* 30, 1708.

MY LORD,

I WRIT to you about a fortnight ago, after my return from the country, and gave you some account of an intended change at Court, which is now finished. Care was taken to put Lord Pembroke in mind of the first fruits before he went out of his office; but it was needless, for his Excellency had it at heart, and the thing is done, of which, I suppose, you have an account.¹ You know who goes over chaplain; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other Bishops, and the Lord Treasurer himself, solicited that matter in a body; it was thought absolutely necessary, considering the dismal notion they have here of so many High Church Archbishops among you; and your friend made no application, for reasons left you to guess.² I cannot yet learn whether you are to have a new Parliament; but I am apt to think you will, and that it must be thought necessary.³ The affair of Drogheda hath made a noise here, and like everything else on your side, is used as a handle: I have had it run in my ears from certain persons.⁴ I hope you are prepared to take off the Sacra-

¹ This assumption, as will be seen, was a mistake.

² *Supra*, p. 124.

³ The Parliament of Ireland then in being was the one which had been returned on the accession of Queen Anne. In his conjecture as to its immediate dissolution Swift proved mistaken. For Wharton came to the conclusion that its members, although under his predecessor they had stedfastly opposed any tampering with the Test, were manageable, and set about endeavouring to educate them to his own views. He succeeded so far that the dissolution was not proclaimed by the Whigs, but by the Tories when in office five years later.

⁴ During the autumn of that year two Presbyterian ministers were successively prosecuted for preaching in Drogheda. The first was bound over to stand his trial at the next assizes, and the second was committed to gaol for three months on summary proceedings. Whether these ministers came to perform service for members of their own church or to make converts is a question in dispute. According to the historian of the Presbyterian Church ("Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," by J. S. Reid, new edition, iii, 3-6) there had been in Drogheda from Cromwell's time until then—except during the period that the town was occupied by the forces of James II—a non-

mental Test, because that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it, in consideration of the Queen's bounty; and that men in employment will be so wise as to please the Court, and secure themselves; but, to think there is any design of bringing the Scotch into offices, is a mere scandal.

Lord Pembroke is to have the Admiralty only a few months, then to have a pension of four thousand pounds a year, and to retire; and it is thought Lord Orford will succeed him, and then it is hoped, there will be an entire change in the Admiralty; that Sir John Leake will be turned out, and the Whigs so well confirmed, that it will not be in the power of the Court, upon a peace, to bring the balance on the other side.¹

One Mr. Shute is named for secretary to Lord Wharton: he is a young man, but reckoned the shrewdest head in Europe; and the person in whom the Presbyterians chiefly confide: and, if money be necessary towards that good work in Ireland, it is reckoned he can command as far as a hundred thousand pounds from the body of Dissenters here.

conforming congregation enjoying full liberty of worship, conducted for them before the Revolution by resident ministers, and afterwards by ministers stationed in other places who visited the town from time to time. On the other hand the Rev. William Tisdall (*supra*, p. 38, n. 1), who in his "Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland with respect to the Church and State" (Dublin, 1712) states the case for the Church of Ireland, says that "the congregation of Drogheda was entirely conformable to the Established Church without any mixture of Dissenters," and that there had not been a conventicle there for eight years before the Revolution. At the time of the prosecutions Primate Marsh, in whose diocese Drogheda lay, was acting as one of the Lords Justices, and encouragement which he gave to the prosecutors caused great concern to Mr. Secretary Dodington (*supra*, p. 104, n. 2), who considered it "no way becoming his Grace's character" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland). Finally, as a result of the interference of Dodington and Wharton, the minister in gaol was released after six weeks' confinement, the prosecution against the other was dropped, and, as Tisdall says, "this trial of skill betwixt the Church and Kirk of Ireland" ended in the entire defeat of the former, and the erection and settlement by the latter of a conventicle in Drogheda.

¹ This prophecy in great part came true a year later when Lord Pembroke retired on a pension of £3,000 a year and Lord Orford took his place. Sir John Leake, instead of being turned out, was, however, promoted from his command as Rear-Admiral of Great Britain to be a Lord of the Admiralty.

As to his principles, he is truly a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently, etc.¹

The clergy are here in an uproar upon their being pro-rogued: the Archbishop of Canterbury takes pains to have it believed it was a thing done without his knowledge. A divine of note, but of the wrong side, was with me the other day, and said, he had it from a good hand, that the reason of this proceeding was an intention of putting the Parliament on examining and correcting courts ecclesiastic, etc.

The Archbishop of Dublin is represented here as one that will very much oppose our designs; and, although I will not say that the "Observator"² is paid for writing as he does; yet I can positively affirm to you, that whatever he says of that Archbishop, or of the affairs of Ireland, or those here, is exactly agreeable to our thoughts and intentions.

This is all I can recollect, fit to inform you at present. If you please, I shall from time to time send you any thing that cometh to my knowledge, that may be worth your notice. I am, etc.

LII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *January 6, 1708-9.*

MY LORD,

BEFORE I received the honour of your Grace's of November 20th, I had sent one enclosed, &c. with what account I could of affairs. Since that time, the measures are altered of dissolving your Parliament, which, doubtless, is their

¹ John Shute, who took subsequently the name of Barrington, and was created by George I Viscount Barrington of Ardglass in the Irish peerage, had been employed to secure the Presbyterian interest in Scotland for the Union with England, and had earned a high reputation by the success with which he had carried through the negotiations. He has the distinction of being included amongst the friends and followers of Locke, but an unfortunate connection with one of the bubble speculations of his time, in which he is thought to have been "the scapegoat of royalty," brought his name into disrepute.

² See for an account of this Whig newspaper, "Prose Works," *passim*.

wisest course, for certain obvious reasons, that your Grace will easily apprehend; and I suppose you have now received directions about proroguing it, for I saw the order some days ago.¹ I should have acknowledged your Grace's letter, if I had not been ever since persecuted with a cruel distemper, a giddiness in my head, that would not suffer me to write or think of anything, and of which I am now slowly recovering.² I sent you word of the affair of the first fruits being performed, which my Lord Pembroke had the goodness to send me immediate notice of. I seldom see his Lordship now, but when he pleases to command me; for he sees nobody in public, and is very full of business. I fancy your Grace will think it necessary that in due time his Lordship should receive some kind of thanks in form. I have a fair pretence to merit in this matter, although, in my own conscience, I think I have very little, except my good wishes, and frequent reminding my Lord Pembroke. But two great men in office, giving me joy of it, very frankly told me, that if I had not smoothed the way, by giving them and the rest of the Ministry a good opinion of the justice of the thing, it would have met with opposition; upon which I only remarked what I have always observed in Courts, that when a favour is done, there is no want of persons to challenge obligations. Meantime, I am in a

¹ On New Year's Day Swift had assured Edward Southwell, with whom he was dining, that they would have "no new Parliament" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland), thus contradicting the prophecy which he had made only a month before (*supra*, p. 126). Although Swift estimated that there were not fifty pronounced supporters of a repeal of the Test in the existing House of Commons ("Prose Works," iv, 15) there seems to have been reason to think that a dissolution would have resulted in the return of even a smaller number, and as already indicated (*supra*, p. 126, n. 3) there was an idea that the existing House of Commons contained members who were susceptible to pressure.

² In his account-book (Forster's "Life", p. 253) Swift has recorded that during nearly the whole of November he had suffered from giddiness, and that in December he had been on one day horribly sick, and on another day a victim to what he describes as a bad fit. This is the first mention of the disease from which Swift suffered throughout his life. It has been identified by Dr. J. C. Bucknill ("Brain," iv, 493) as *labyrinthine vertigo*, an affection of a paroxysmal nature with long intervals of immunity. In his article Dr. Bucknill has attributed to Swift an illness from which Archbishop King suffered at this time (*infra*, p. 136), but this error has no bearing on his deductions as to Swift's lifelong complaint.

pretty condition, who have bills of merit given me, that I must thankfully acknowledge, and yet cannot honestly offer them in payment. I suppose the clergy will, in due time, send the Queen an address of thanks for her favour.¹

I very much applaud your Grace's sanguine temper, as you call it, and your comparison of religion to paternal affection; but the world is divided into two sects, those that hope the best, and those that fear the worst; your Grace is of the former, which is the wiser, the nobler, and most pious principle; and although I endeavour to avoid being of the other, yet upon this article I have sometimes strange weaknesses. I compare true religion to learning and civility, which have ever been in the world, but very often shifted their scenes; sometimes entirely leaving whole countries where they have long flourished, and removing to others that were before barbarous; which has been the case of Christianity itself, particularly in many parts of Africa; and how far the wickedness of a nation may provoke God Almighty to inflict so great a judgement, is terrible to think. But as great Princes, when they have subdued all about them, presently have universal monarchy in their thoughts; so your Grace, having conquered all the corruptions in a diocese, and then pursued your victories over a province, would fain go farther, and save a whole kingdom, and would never be quiet, if you could have your will, until you had converted the world.

And this reminds me of a pamphlet lately come out, pretended to be a letter hither from Ireland, against repealing the Test, wherein your Grace's character is justly set forth: for the rest, some parts are very well, and others puerile, and some facts, as I am informed, wrong represented. The author has gone out of his way to reflect on me as a person likely to write for repealing the Test, which I am sure is very unfair treatment. This is all I am likely to get by the company I keep. I am used like a sober man with a drunken face, have the scandal of the vice without the satisfaction. I have told the Ministry, with great frankness, my opinion, that they would never be able to repeal it, unless such changes should happen as I could not foresee; and they all believe I differ from them in that point.²

¹ *Supra*, p. 126, n. 1.

² The "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," to which this paragraph alludes, is dated 4 December, 1708, and is addressed under

Mr. Addison, who goes over first Secretary, is a most excellent person; and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things.¹ I spoke to him with great plainness upon the subject of the Test; and he says, he is confident my Lord Wharton will not attempt it, if he finds the bent of the nation against it. I will say nothing farther of his character to your Grace at present, because he has half persuaded me to have some thoughts of returning to Ireland, and then it will be time enough: but if that happens otherwise, I presume to recommend him to your Grace as a person you will think worth your acquaintance.

My Lord Berkeley begins to drop his thoughts of going

the pseudonym of a member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a member of the House of Commons in England ("Prose Works," iv, 1). Mr. Temple Scott considers that Swift's attempt in the above paragraph "to convince the Archbishop that the pamphlet was not of his authorship" is only half-hearted, but Sir Walter Scott ("Works," xv, 324) thought it to be deliberately made for the purpose of obtaining the Archbishop's unbiassed opinion on the merits of the pamphlet. It seems to me, as a writer in the "Edinburgh Monthly Review" iv, 17, has held, that Swift can hardly be freed from a charge of insincerity, but in favour of Mr. Temple Scott's view there is this to be said that the disguise may have been adopted to mislead prying postal officials of whom Swift had so great a dread (*supra*, p. 89). The reflection on himself to which Swift alludes appears only in the early edition of the pamphlet ("Prose Works," xii, 120). After stating that there was only one clergyman in Ireland known to be in favour of a repeal of the Test, the "Letter" went on to say that a hint had been dropped about two Irish divines then in London differing from the rest. The first was Lambert (*supra*, p. 124, n. 3), who it was said could hardly find it possible, consistently with his declarations, to write against the Test, and the second was Swift, whose disappointment in not having been made chaplain to Wharton, it is suggested, would "chance to cool his zeal that way if he had any before." But even if these two divines had such views as had been alleged, the "Letter" added that there was a third divine in London who would represent the true feeling in Ireland on the question, not only amongst the clergy, but in the House of Commons, to which he had free access at all times. This was Dr. Pratt (*supra*, p. 83, n. 1) who was then chaplain of the House.

¹ "So notorious was the Earl of Wharton for his profligacy and general immorality," says Mr. Herbert Wood in a valuable paper on "Addison's Connexion with Ireland" ("Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," xxxiv, 134) "that his choice of Addison as his Chief Secretary, and Addison's acceptance of the post, have appeared almost inexplicable to his biographers." In Macaulay's opinion Wharton and Addison had nothing in common except their political principles, the "callous impudence" of the one presenting the strongest contrast to the "gentleness and delicacy" of the other.

to Vienna; and indeed I freely gave my opinion against such a journey for one of his age and infirmities.¹ And I shall hardly think of going Secretary without him, although the Emperor's ministers here think I will, and have writ to Vienna. I agree with your Grace, that such a design was a little too late at my years;² but, considering myself wholly useless in Ireland, and in a parish with an audience of half a score, and it being thought necessary that the Queen should have a Secretary at that Court, my friends telling me it would not be difficult to compass it, I was a little tempted to pass some time abroad, until my friends would make me a little easier in my fortunes at home. Besides, I had hopes of being sent in time to some other Court, and in the meanwhile the pay would be forty shillings a day, and the advantage of living, if I pleased, in Lord Berkeley's family. But, I believe, this is now all at an end. I am, my Lord, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

My Lord Wharton says, he intends for Ireland the beginning of March.

LIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ROBERT HUNTER

London, *January 12, 1708-9.*

SIR,

I KNOW no people so ill used by your men of business, as their intimate friends. About a fortnight after Mr. Addison had received the letter you were pleased to send me, he first told me of it with an air of recollection, and after ten farther of grace, thought fit to give it me; so you know where to fix the whole blame that it was no sooner acknowledged. It is a delicate expedient you prisoners have of diverting yourselves in an enemy's country, for which other

¹ To-day a journey to Vienna would not be thought great for a man of sixty, which was Lord Berkeley's age at that time, even though in delicate health, but the hardships which travellers then endured might well deter even the strongest and youngest men.

² *Supra*, p. 123.

men would be hanged.¹ I am considering, whether there be no way of disturbing your quiet by writing some dark matter, that may give the French Court a jealousy of you. I suppose, Monsieur Chamillard,² or some of his commissaries, must have this letter interpreted to them, before it comes to your hands; and therefore I here think good to warn them, that if they exchange you under six of their lieutenant-generals, they will be losers by the bargain. But, that they may not mistake me, I do not mean as *viceroi de Virginia, mais comme le Colonel Hunter*. I would advise you to be very tender of your honour, and not fall in love; because I have a scruple, whether you can keep your parole, if you become a prisoner to the ladies; at least it will be scandalous for a free Briton to drag two chains at once. I presume, you have the liberty of Paris, and fifty miles round, and have a very light pair of fetters, contrived to ride or dance in, and see Versailles, and every place else, except St. Germain.³ I hear the ladies call you already *notre prisonnier Hunter, le plus honnête garçon du monde*. Will you[r] French yet own us Britons to be a brave people? Will they allow the Duke of Marlborough to be a great general? Or, are they all as partial as their Gazetteers? Have you yet met any French colonel whom you remember to have formerly knocked from his horse, or shivered at least a lance against his breast-plate? Do you know the wounds you have given, when you see the scars? Do you salute your old enemies with *stetimus tella aspera contra, contulimusque manus*?

*Vous savez que Monsieur d'Addison, notre bon ami, est fait secrétaire d'état d'Irlande;*⁴ and unless you make haste

¹ See notice of Hunter (*supra*, p. 113, n. 3), where it is mentioned that he had been taken prisoner by the French when on his way to take up the office of Governor of Virginia. According to his list of letters (Appendix III) Swift received the letter from Hunter on 5 January.

² Michel de Chamillard was then Controller General of the Finances and Minister of War to Louis XIV. He is said to have sacrificed the interests of his country in order to preserve the favour of the King, and owing to popular feeling was obliged to resign office about that time. It was with him William Gregg (*supra*, p. 69, n. 1) carried on his treasonable correspondence.

³ Where he could hardly expect a friendly reception from the Pretender.

⁴ The office held by Addison corresponded to that of the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. The office of Secretary of

over and get my Virginian bishopric,¹ he will persuade me to go with him, for the Vienna project is off; which is a great disappointment to the design I had of displaying my politics at the Emperor's Court.² I do not like the subject you have assigned me to entertain you with. Crowther is sick, to the comfort of all quiet people,³ and Frowde is *rêveur à peindre*.⁴ Mr. Addison and I often drink your health, and this day I did it with Will Pate, a certain adorer of yours, who is both a *bel esprit* and a woollen-draper.⁵ The Whigs carry all before them, and how far they will pursue their victories, we underrate Whigs can hardly tell. I have not yet observed the Tories' noses; their number is not to be learnt by telling of noses, for every Tory has not a nose.

It is a loss you are not here to partake of three weeks frost, and eat ginger-bread in a booth by a fire upon the Thames. Mrs. Floyd looked out with both her eyes, and we had one day's thaw: but she drew in her head, and it now freezes as hard as ever.⁶ As for the Convocation, the Queen thought fit to prorogue it, though at the expense of

State for Ireland was distinct, and, as has been mentioned (*supra*, p. 86, n. 3), was then a sinecure held by Edward Southwell.

¹ Scott ("Life," p. 97) and Sheridan ("Life," p. 57) think that the appointment of Swift as Bishop of Virginia was seriously contemplated, Sheridan being of opinion that it was a scheme of the Whigs to get Swift out of the way, but both Forster ("Life," p. 239) and Craik (i, p. 227) treat the suggestion as a jest.

² *Supra*, p. 117.

³ The reference is to Thomas Crowther, who commanded the regiment of horse now known as the King's Dragoon Guards at the battle of Blenheim, and became a Major-General. He was author of a pamphlet called "The Naked Truth," and of lines entitled "The Brussels Postscript," for both of which he is severely satirized by Steele (see "The Tatler," edited by G. A. Aitken, and Dalton's "Blenheim Roll," p. 13).

⁴ *Supra*, p. 101, n. 2.

⁵ Pate, who was known as the learned woollen-draper, was "a familiar figure in the literary society of his epoch." It has been suggested ("D. N. B.," xlv, 12) that he was "taken up the more warmly because to men like Steele and Swift the combination of literary taste with the practice of trade was something of a novel sensation."

⁶ From 26 December to 9 January frost had continued "with great violence," accompanied by "very great snows." On the evening of the 9th a thaw set in, but the next day frost came again, and with some intermissions the severe weather continued until March. "Mrs. Biddy Floyd" was a lady who lived with Lady Elizabeth Germaine (*supra*, p. 110, n. 1), and to her Swift addressed in that year "The Receipt to form a Beauty" (see "Poetical Works" and "Prose Works," ii, *passim*).

Dr. Atterbury's displeasure, who was designed their Prolocutor, and is now raving at the disappointment.¹

I amuse myself sometimes with writing verses to Mrs. Finch,² and sometimes with projects for the uniting of parties, which I perfect over night, and burn in the morning.³ Sometimes Mr. Addison and I steal to a pint of bad wine, and wish for no third person but you; who, if you were with us, would never be satisfied without three more. You know, I believe, that poor Dr. Gregory is dead, and Keill solicits to be his successor; but party reaches even to lines and circles, and he will hardly carry it, being reputed a Tory, which yet he utterly denies.⁴ We are here nine times madder after operas than ever; and have got a new castrato from Italy, called Nicolini, who exceeds Valentini, I know not how many bars length.⁵ Lords Somers and Halifax are as well as busy statesmen can be in Parliament time. Lord D[orset] is nobody's favourite but yours and Mr. Prior's, who has lately dedicated his book of poems to him; which is all the press has furnished us of any value since you went.⁶ Mr. Pringle, a gentleman of Scotland,⁷

¹ This reference to Atterbury deserves comparison with the frequent allusions to him in the *Journal to Stella*. Although in agreement with Atterbury on questions affecting the Church when this passage was penned, Swift could not forget that they were "Whig and Tory."

² See "Apollo Outwitted" in the "Poetical Works." Mrs. Finch, afterwards Countess of Winchilsea, herself wrote poems which have been commended by Wordsworth ("D. N. B.," xix, 1).

³ Forster has written here on the margin of a copy of this letter (Forster Collection) "in continuation of the 'Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to Religion and Government.'"

⁴ David Gregory was Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Although not his immediate successor, John Keill was elected to that chair on another vacancy when the Tories were in power, which indicates some truth in the popular opinion of his political faith.

⁵ "Operas on the Italian model first appeared in England in 1705. They were at first sung in English, and by English performers, but soon after, some Italian *castrati* having come over, the principal characters in the dialogue sang in Italian, while the subordinate characters answered in English. After two or three years this absurdity passed away, and the operas became wholly Italian" (Lecky, *op. cit.*, i, 532). Nicolini is said to have been a far greater actor than any "who were in the habit of appearing on the English stage" (Edwards' "History of the Opera," i, 54).

⁶ The father of Lord Dorset (*supra*, p. 110, n. 1) had been Matthew Prior's early patron.

⁷ Robert Pringle, whose elder brother occupied a seat on the Scotch

succeeds Mr. Addison in the Secretary's Office; and Mr. Shute, a notable young Presbyterian gentleman under thirty years old, is made a Commissioner of the Customs.¹ This is all I can think of, either public or private, worth telling you: perhaps you have heard part or all of both, from other hands, but you must be content. Pray let us know what hopes we have of seeing you, and how soon; and be so kind, or just, to believe me always

Your most faithful humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Mr. Steele presents his most humble service to you: and I cannot forbear telling you of your *méchanceté* to impute the Letter on Enthusiasm² to me; when I have some good reasons to think the author is now at Paris.

Addressed—A Monsieur Hunter, Gentilhomme Anglais, à Paris.

LIV. [*Hawkesworth*.³]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February* 10, 1708-9.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of last January the 6th, and you will find but a sorry correspondent of me. I have been confined near two months this winter and forbid pen and ink by my physician; though, I thank God, I was more frightened, as it happened, than hurt. I had a colic about the year 1696, that brought me to extremity, and all despaired of my life, and the news-letters reported me dead. It began at the same time of the year, and the same way it did then, and the winters were much alike; and I verily believe had I not had the assistance of my old physician Sir Patrick Dun, I should have run the same course, which I could not have supported. But with a little physick, and the Spa and Bath

judicial bench, was a favourite official of William III, and after George I's accession was for a short time Secretary at War.

¹ *Supra*, p. 128, n. 1.

² *Supra*, p. III.

³ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but it is only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

waters, I escaped without other hardships than keeping at home; and so much for private affairs.¹

As to the public, I had a letter from my Lord Pembroke, wherein he told me the first fruits and twentieth parts were granted, and that my Lord Lieutenant will bring over the Queen's letter for them. I returned him my thanks, and as soon as the order comes, he will have a public acknowledgment.²

I have seen a letter, that passes as from a Member of the House, &c. I think your judgement concerning it is very just. But pray by what artifice did you contrive to pass for a Whig? As I am an honest man, I courted the greatest Whigs I knew, and could not gain the reputation of being counted one. But you need not be concerned: I will engage you will lose nothing by that paper. I wish some facts had been well considered before vouched: if any one matter in it prove false, what do you think will come of the paper? In short, it will not be in the power of man to hinder it from a warm entertainment.³

As to the Test, I believe that matter is over for this season. I was much for dissolving this present Parliament, and calling a new one this spring.⁴ I had a pretty good account of the future elections, which, as far as my acquaintance reached, were settled: and I was sure, that without

¹ It appears from King's Correspondence when he was Bishop of Derry (*supra*, p. 36, n. 1) that he was taken ill in October, 1696, while residing in the town of Londonderry. In the following February he writes from thence that his physicians would neither let him talk, read, or write, and in March, "as it pleased God to continue his hand on him," he came to Dublin, and in order to escape "the atmosphere and bustle" of the metropolis, stayed in a small village called Rathfarnham, under the Dublin mountains. There he was no doubt attended by Sir Patrick Dun, then the leading physician in Dublin, and a popular hero on account of the services which he had rendered as a member of the medical staff of William III's Irish army. To Dublin citizens Dun's name remains a familiar sound owing to its use as the designation of one of their largest hospitals founded through his munificence. Like King he was of Scotch descent, and apart from their relation as physician and patient they were great personal friends.

² *Supra*, p. 126, n. 1.

³ Whether Swift wished to conceal the authorship of the "Letter" or not (*supra*, p. 130, n. 2), King had no doubt as to the writer. The only "facts" that seem to have been open to question were those in which the strength of the opposition to a repeal of the Test was asserted.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 128.

great force and artifice, the new members would never have repealed the Test; but I did not know what the influence of a Lord Lieutenant, when well acquainted in the kingdom, and who knew how to take his measures justly, might have effected, and we know very well what force, management and timing matters have; and there is hardly anything but powerful persuasions, terror, and ostentation of interest may effect, especially in popular elections. And to confess the truth to you, I am not altogether easy in that matter yet, especially if things take any new turn in England. It is whispered, but I know not by what authority, that the Queen herself was at the bottom of what passed in the House of Commons with you, and that the Ministry screened her in that affair, for reasons that may be guessed at.

I am wonderfully pleased at the good character you give Mr. Addison.¹ If he be the man that you represent him to be (and I have confidence in your judgement), he will be able to serve his Lord effectually, and procure himself love and respect here. I cannot say it will be in my power to do him any service: but my good wishes and endeavours shall not be wanting.

Mr. Stoughton preached a sermon here, on the 30th of January, King Charles's Martyrdom, that gives great offence. The Government heard it, but I was ill at home, which Dean Stearne will needs have a providence. If the representation I have of it be true, I am sure I should have suspended him, if it had cost me both my reputation and interest. I have represented what I have heard of it, and have discoursed my Lord Chancellor about it, and told him of what consequence I think it to be, both to him and us, and that it should not pass without censure. I have not as yet seen my Lord Primate. Wise men are doing all they can to extinguish faction; and fools and elves are throwing firebrands. Assure yourself this had an ill effect on the minds of most here; for, though they espouse the Revolution, they heartily abhor forty-one. And nothing can create the Ministry more enemies, and be a greater handle for calumny, than to represent them, and those that espoused them, to be such as murdered King Charles the First and such are all that approve or excuse it.²

¹ *Supra*, p. 131.

² Stoughton's sermon was subsequently published with the following title: "A Sermon preach'd before the State, in Christ Church in

As to your own affairs, I wish you could have come over chaplain as I proposed; but since a more powerful interest interposed, I believe you had best use your endeavours there; but if nothing happens before my Lord Lieutenant comes over, you had best make us a visit.¹ Had you been here, I believe something might have been done for you before this. The deanery of Down is fallen, and application has been made for it to my Lord Lieutenant, but it yet hangs, and I know not what will become of it;² but if you could either get into it, or get a good man with a comfortable benefice removed to it, it might make present provision for you. I have many things more to say; but they are so much of a piece with these I have writ already, that you may guess at them all by this sample. God be with you: Amen.

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

LV. [*Hawkesworth*.³]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *March* 12, 1708-9.

REVEREND SIR,

THE business of the twentieth parts and first fruits is still on the anvil. We are given to understand, that her Majesty designs, out of her royal bounty, to make a grant

Dublin, on Monday January 31 1708/9, by Mr. Stoughton, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Chaplain to the Right Honourable Richard Freeman, Lord Chancellor, and at that time one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Publish'd for his own Vindication against the many Clamours rais'd upon it." The text was 1 Sam. xii, 24, 25, and some idea of its contents may be gathered from a passage in which Stoughton's hearers were told that in speaking of Charles I "good manners to our gracious Queen, his granddaughter, who, with such masculine glory, illustrious, sways the sceptre of the nation, oblige us to pass his faults and errors over with gentle touch and light reflection." The Primate, who was Narcissus Marsh, King's predecessor in the see of Dublin (*supra*, p. 13, n. 2), was at that time co-Lord Justice of Ireland with Freeman in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant.

¹ *Supra*, p. 131.

² Swift's successful rival for the chaplaincy to the Lord Lieutenant, Ralph Lambert (*supra*, p. 124, n. 3), was appointed in the following May to the deanery of Down.

³ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but it is only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

of them for charitable uses, and that it is designed this grant should come over with his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. The Bishops in this town at present thought it reasonable to apprise his Excellency of the affair, and to address him for his favour in it, which accordingly is done by this post. We have sent with this address the representation made at first to her Majesty about it; the reference to the Commissioners of the Revenue here, and their report, together with the memorial to the Lord Pembroke. In that there is mention of the state of the diocese of Dublin, as a specimen of the condition of the clergy of Ireland,¹ by which it will appear how much we stand in need of such a gift. This we could not well send to his Excellency, because it is very long, and we apprehend, that it might be improper to give him so much trouble at first, before he was any way apprised of the matter; but, if you think that his Excellency may judge it agreeable that it should be laid before him, I entreat the favour of you to apply to my Lord Pembroke's Secretary, with whom it is, for the original, or a copy of it, and present it to my Lord Lieutenant, or leave it with his Secretary. I have engaged for you to my brethren, that you will be at this trouble: and there is a memorial to this purpose, at the foot of the copy of the representation made to the Earl of Pembroke, transmitted with the other papers. What charges you are at upon this account, will be answered by me.

The good impression you have given me of Mr. Addison, my Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, has encouraged me to venture a letter to him on this subject, which I have enclosed, and make you the full and sole judge whether it ought to be delivered. I cannot be competently informed by any here, whether it may be pertinent or no; but I may and do depend on your prudence in the case, who, I believe, will neither omit what may be useful, nor suffer me to do an officious or improper thing. I mix no other matter with this, beside what agrees with all occasions, the tender of the hearty prayers and wishes for you of, Sir, your, &c.

WILL. DUBLIN.

The reversal of my Lord Slane's outlawry makes a mighty noise through this kingdom;² for aught I can re-

¹ *Supra*, p. 64.

² Christopher Fleming, seventeenth Baron of Slane, had served as

member, the destroying of our woollen manufactory did not cause so universal a consternation.

Addressed—Care of Sir Andrew Fountaine, Leicester Fields.

LVI. [*Copy*.¹]

SWIFT TO AMBROSE PHILIPS

[*March* 15, 1708/9.²]

YOUR versifying in a sledge seems somewhat parallel to singing a Psalm upon a ladder; and when you tell me that

an officer in James II's army, and had been subsequently outlawed and attainted, and his estate as well as his peerage had been forfeited. But owing to his services in Queen Anne's army abroad he had been restored to favour, and about this time his outlawry and attainder were reversed by the English Parliament. This action alarmed those who had purchased his property from the Trustees of Forfeited Estates, and we find a correspondent writing to the permanent secretary in Dublin Castle from London on 3 March to allay those apprehensions. He says: "I am now to acquaint you that in the bill for the reversal of Lord Slane's outlawry there is a proviso that the same shall not extend to restore him to his estate, therefore the Protestant purchasers need not apprehend any design from that bill, nor could it reasonably be imagined but that in such a law the Parliament would take care to secure those titles which have been purchased under the authority of an Act of Parliament" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

¹ In the Forster Collection. It is stated by Forster in a note which he has appended that the transcript was made from a letter sold at Puttick's auction rooms in the summer of 1857. The letter was described in the catalogue as containing various items of news and the passages transcribed.

² The date is taken from the list of letters written and received by Swift (see Appendix III). It appears that the letter was written to Philips (*supra*, p. 99, n. 1) while he was residing in Copenhagen, and was in answer to one received from him on 22 February from that place. The circumstances under which he had gone to Denmark are not known. According to Dalton ("English Army Lists," v, 186) Ambrose Philips received a commission in 1705 as Captain-Lieutenant and Adjutant of "Colonel William Breton's Newly Raised Regiment of Foot," and served at Almanza, where he is said to have been taken prisoner. It is difficult to reconcile these statements with what Swift says to Philips of learning his "trade of a soldier," and his "new character as a soldier" (*supra*, pp. 110, 114). The regiment which Lord Mark Kerr commanded was also at Almanza, where it was

it was upon the ice, I suppose it might be a pastoral, and that you had got a calenture, which makes men think they behold green fields and groves on the ocean. I suppose the subject was love, and then came in naturally your burning in so much cold, and that the ice was hot iron in comparison of her disdain. Then there are frozen hearts and melting sighs, or kisses, I forget which. But I believe your poetic faith will never arrive at allowing that Venus was born in the Belts, or any part of the Northern Sea. . . .¹

The town is run mad after a new opera.² Poetry and good sense are dwindling like echo with repetition and voice. Critic Dennis³ vows to G— these operas will be the ruin of the nation, and brings examples from antiquity to prove it. A good old lady five miles out of town asked me the other day what these *uproars* were that her daughter was always going to.

LVII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ROBERT HUNTER

London, *March* 22, 1708-9.

SIR,

I AM very much obliged to you for the favour of a kind reproach you sent me, in a letter to Mr. Addison, which he never told me of till this day, and that accidentally; but I am glad at the same time, that I did not deserve it, having sent you a long letter,⁴ in return to that you was pleased to honour me with; and it is a pity it should be lost; for as I remember, it was full of the *diei fabulas*, and such particularities as do not usually find place in newspapers. Mr. Addison has been so taken up for some months in the amphibious circumstances of premier c—— to my Lord Sunderland, and Secretary of State for Ireland,⁵ that he is the worst man I know either to convey an idle letter, or

decimated and had to be reformed on its return to England in 1708. Philips probably joined it then. The Irish poetical Captain (*supra*, p. 114) was possibly Captain Philip Lockhart, one of Kerr's captains.

¹ *Infra*, p. 143.

² *Supra*, p. 135.

³ John Dennis, the dramatist and critic, whose vanity led to his being severely satirized by Swift and Pope, but whose "criticisms often displayed considerable good sense as well as erudition."

⁴ *Supra*, p. 132.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 133, n. 4.

deliver what he receives; so that I design, when I trust him with this, to give him a memorial along with it; for if my former has miscarried, I am half persuaded to give him the blame. I find you a little lament your bondage, and indeed in your case it requires a good share of philosophy: but if you will not be angry, I believe I may have been the cause you are still a prisoner; for I imagine my former letter was intercepted by the French court, when the most Christian King reading one passage in it and duly considering the weight of the person who wrote it, where I said, if the French King understood your value as well as we do, he would not exchange you for Count Tallard, and all the *débris* of Blenheim together: for I must confess, I did not rally when I said so.¹

I hear your good sister, the Queen of Pomunki, waits with impatience till you are restored to your dominions: and that your rogue of a viceroy returns money fast for England, against the time he must retire from his government. Meantime Philips writes verses in a sledge, upon the frozen sea, and transmits them hither to thrive in our warmer clime under the shelter of my Lord Dorset.² I could send you a great deal of news from the *Republica Grubstreetaria*, which was never in greater altitude, though I have been of late but a small contributor. A cargo of splinters from the Arabian rocks have been lately shipwrecked in the Thames, to the irreparable damage of the virtuosi. Mrs. Long and I are fallen out; I shall not trouble you with the cause, but do not you think her altogether in the wrong?³ But Mrs. Barton is still in my good graces; I de-

¹ Unless Swift kept copies of the letters it is to be presumed that the former letter to Hunter as well as this one reached its destination. Marshal Tallard, who had been brought to England in Marlborough's train after the battle of Blenheim, remained a prisoner in that country until 1712, but Hunter regained his liberty a few months after this letter was written. It had been reported in the previous August that he was to be exchanged for the Bishop of Quebec (Luttrell, *op. cit.*, vi, 336).

² The verses appeared in the twelfth number of the "Tatler," as "a winter piece worthy of the most learned painter."

³ This was the occasion evidently of "A Decree for concluding the Treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long," which was doubtless written at that time ("Prose Works," xi, 383). Swift is described in the "Decree" as of Leicester Fields, where, as appears from his letter to Archbishop King of 12 March (*supra*, p. 141), he was then staying with Sir Andrew Fountaine.

sign to make her tell me when you are to be redeemed, and will send you word.¹ There is it now, you think I am in jest; but I assure you the best intelligence I get of public affairs is from ladies, for the Ministers never tell me anything; and Mr. Addison is nine times more secret to me than anybody else, because I have the happiness to be thought his friend. The company at St. James's Coffee-house is as bad as ever, but it is not quite so good. The beauties you left are all gone off this frost, and we have got a new set for spring, of which Mrs. Chetwynd² and Mrs. Worsley³ are the principal. The vogue of operas holds up wonderfully, though we have had them a year;⁴ but I design to set up a party among the wits to run them down by next winter, if true English caprice does not interpose to save us the labour. Mademoiselle Spanheim is going to marry my Lord Fitzhardinge, at least I have heard so;⁵ and if you find it otherwise at your return, the consequences may possibly be survived; however, you may tell

¹ The reference is to Sir Isaac Newton's niece, the gay and witty Catherine Barton, whose relations with Lord Halifax have given rise to much speculation (see "D. N. B.," xxxviii, 222). She is frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*. Barton was her maiden name, and there seems to be no foundation for the statement that she was married to a Colonel Barton.

² She was the wife of Walter Chetwynd of Ingestre in Staffordshire, afterwards created a Viscount in the Irish peerage, and was daughter of John, fourth Viscount Fitzhardinge. Her engagement to Chetwynd was announced in 1700, but their marriage did not take place until three years later, after the accession of Queen Anne, to whom she was appointed a maid of honour. The Queen is said to have given her a portion of £6,000 (see "The Chetwynds of Ingestre," by H. E. Chetwynd-Stapylton). An unpublished poem "To Mr. Jervais on the site of Mrs. Chetwind's Picture," which is said to be "in Swift's disguised hand," was sold at Sotheby's on 15 December, 1906.

³ The future wife of Lord Carteret. Her father, Sir Robert Worsley, held a baronetcy of very early creation, and her mother Frances, daughter of Thomas, first Viscount Weymouth, was a woman of illustrious descent. Miss Worsley's marriage to Lord Carteret took place in the following year. Forster ("Life," p. 228) is in error in thinking the allusion is to her mother, whose husband had succeeded to the title before their marriage.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 142.

⁵ John Berkeley, fourth Viscount Fitzhardinge, the father of Mrs. Chetwynd above mentioned, had lost his wife six months before this letter was written. The report of his intended marriage to Mademoiselle Spanheim, the daughter of the Prussian ambassador, did not come true.

it the *Paris Gazetteer*, and let me have the pleasure to read a lie of my own sending. I suppose you have heard, that the town has lost an old Duke, and recovered a mad Duchess. The Duke of Marlborough has at length found an enemy that dares face him, and which he will certainly fly before with the first opportunity, and we are all of opinion it will be his wisest course to do so. Now the way to be prodigiously witty, would be by keeping you in suspense, and not letting you know that this enemy is nothing but this north-east wind, which stops his voyage to Holland. This letter going in Mr. Addison's packet will, I hope, have better luck than the former. I shall go for Ireland some time in summer, being not able to make my friends in the Ministry consider my merits, or their promises, enough to keep me here; so that all my hopes now terminate in my bishopric of Virginia:¹ in the meantime I hold fast my claim to your promise of corresponding with me, and that you will henceforward address your letter for me at Mr. Steele's office at the Cockpit, who has promised his care in conveying them. Mr. Domville is now at Geneva, and sends me word he is become a convert to the Whigs, by observing the good and ill effects of freedom and slavery abroad.²

I am now with Mr. Addison, with whom I have fifty times drunk your health since you left us. He is hurrying away for Ireland, and I can at present lengthen my letter no farther; and I am not certain whether you will have any from him or not till he gets to Ireland. However, he commands me to assure you of his humble service; and I pray God

¹ *Supra*, p. 134, n. 1.

² William Domville, whom Swift says in the *Journal to Stella* was "as perfectly a fine a gentleman as he knew," was owner of a beautifully situated estate in the county of Dublin, bordering on the bay of Killiney. This estate, together with a handsome demesne and lodge now known as Loughlinstown House, he had inherited from his grandfather, an eminent lawyer and statesman, who for more than a quarter of a century held the office of Attorney General for Ireland, and whose descendants have since occupied a foremost place amongst the landed gentry of the metropolitan county of Ireland. William Domville, who is said to have been the father of Philip Stanhope's wife (*Charlemont Manuscripts*, Hist. MSS. Com.), lived the life of a man of pleasure in London and abroad, and seems to have been almost entirely an absentee from Ireland. Swift notes in his list of letters (Appendix III) the receipt of a letter from Domville from Geneva, on 12 February in that year, and the despatch of a reply on 31 March.

too much business may not spoil *le plus honnête homme du monde*: for it is certain, which of a man's good talents he employs on business, must be detracted from his conversation. I cannot write longer in so good company, and therefore conclude

Your most faithful and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

Addressed—A Monsieur Hunter, Gentilhomme Anglais,
à Paris.

LVIII. [*Draft*.¹]

SWIFT TO PRIMATE MARSH ²

London, *March* 24, 1709.

MY LORD,

I AM commanded by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to send the enclosed to your Grace, in answer to a letter his Excellency lately received from your Grace, and several Bishops, relating to the first fruits of Ireland.³ This will spare your Grace and their Lordships the trouble of any farther account from me. I shall therefore only add, that his Excellency commanded me to assure your Grace of his hearty inclination in favour of the Church of Ireland. I am with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most obedient servant,
JON. SWIFT.

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 138, n. 3.

³ The letter which had been received by Lord Wharton, was "the address" referred to by Archbishop King in his last letter to Swift (*supra*, p. 140). On receipt of the Archbishop's letter Swift had waited on Wharton (*infra*, p. 148), and appears to have been then asked by Wharton to forward his reply to the address to the Primate.

⁴ It was Swift's boast that his letters were not studied compositions; but this draft is a proof that in some instances at least they were the result of much deliberation. In the few lines of which this letter consists, quite a number of alterations were made before Swift was satisfied. "Several Bishops" has taken the place of "some other Bishops," and "hearty inclination" is substituted for "entire disposition to do." But the most striking indication of pains is in regard to the subscription, which was twice altered before it assumed its final form, standing first "most obedient and most humble servant," and secondly "most obedient and most dutiful servant."

LIX. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

March 26, 1709.

MY LORD,

I SHOULD have acknowledged yours of February 10th, long ago, if I had not stayed to see what became of the first fruits. I have likewise yours of the 12th instant. I will now tell you the proceeding in this unhappy affair. Some time after the Prince's death, Lord Pembroke sent me word by Sir Andrew Fountaine, that the Queen had granted the thing, and afterward took the compliment I made him upon it.¹ He likewise, I suppose, writ to the same purpose himself to the Archbishop of Dublin.² I was then for a long time pursued by a cruel illness, that seized me at fits, and hindered me from meddling in any business;³ neither, indeed, could I at all suspect there was any need to stir any more in this, until, often asking Mr. Addison whether he had any orders about it, I was a little in pain, and desired Mr. Addison to inquire at the Treasury, whether such a grant had then passed; and finding an unwillingness, I enquired myself, where Mr. Taylour⁴ assured me there were never any orders for such a grant.

This was a month ago, and then I began to despair of the whole thing. Lord Pembroke was hard to be seen, neither did I think it worth talking the matter with him. What perplexed me most was, why he should tell me, and write to Ireland, that the business was done; for if the account he sent to Ireland were not as positive as what he gave me, I ought to be told so from thence. I had no opportunity of clearing this matter until the day I received

¹ *Supra*, p. 126.

² As on previous occasions when writing to Archbishop King (*supra*, pp. 85, 89) Swift enclosed this letter in one to Dean Stearne (see Appendix III), and sought to conceal the person whom he addressed.

³ *Supra*, p. 129.

⁴ In a letter dated from the Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, on 1 March, 1704/5, John Taylour writes to Edward Southwell (*supra*, p. 86, n. 3) in a jocular strain thanking him for his annual remembrance of him, and reminding him of an account of fees for which he would have seized Southwell's secretary if the secretary had not got away by stealth (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 21474, f. 88).

your last letter; when his explanation was, that he had been promised he should carry over the grant when he returned to Ireland, and that his memorial was now in the Treasury. Yet, when I had formerly begged leave to follow this matter with Lord Treasurer only, in the form of common soliciting, he was uneasy, and told me Lord Treasurer had nothing at all to do with it: but that it was a matter purely between the Queen and himself, as I have told you in former letters; which, however, I knew then to be otherwise, from Lord Treasurer himself.¹ So that all I had left me to do was only the cold amusement of now and then refreshing Lord Pembroke's memory, or giving the Ministry, as I could find opportunity, good dispositions toward the thing.

Upon this notice from Lord Pembroke, I immediately went to Lord Wharton, which was the first attendance I ever paid him.² He was then in a great crowd; I told him my business; he said, he could not then discourse of it with me, but would the next day. I guessed the meaning of that, and saw the very person³ I expected, just come from him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his answer; but the formal part was this: that he was not yet properly Lord Lieutenant, until he was sworn; that he expected the same application should be made to him, as had been done to other Lord Lieutenants; that he was very well disposed, &c. I took the boldness to begin answering those objections, and designed to offer some reasons; but he rose suddenly, turned off the discourse, and seemed in haste; so I was forced to take my leave.⁴ I had an inten-

¹ *Supra*, p. 94.

² In the "Memoirs relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry in the year 1710" ("Prose Works," v, 381) Swift's words on this point are still stronger: "It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton."

³ Possibly the person was Thomas Brodrick (*supra*, p. 88, n. 2), who had a residence near London, and afterwards became a member of the British House of Commons.

⁴ "He received me with sufficient coldness," says Swift in the "Memoirs" just quoted, "and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses which amounted to a refusal." The subsequent passages between Wharton and Swift, as related in the "Memoirs," were that on their being brought together again through the intervention of Lord Somers, Wharton received Swift in the same manner, that having heard that Swift was author of

tion to offer my reasons in a memorial; but was advised, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpose. And, in short, I observe such a reluctance in some friends whose credit I would employ, that I begin to think no farther of it.

I had writ thus far without receiving¹ a former letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, wherein he tells me positively that Lord Pembroke had sent him word the first fruits were granted, and that Lord Wharton would carry over the Queen's letter, &c. I appeal to you, what any man could think after this. Neither, indeed, had I the least suspicion, until Mr. Addison told me he knew nothing of it; and that I had the same account from the Treasury. It is wonderful a great Minister should make no difference between a grant and the promise of a grant; and it is as strange that all I could say would not prevail on him to give me leave to solicit the finishing of it at the Treasury, which could not have taken the least grain of merit from him. Had I the least suspected it had been only a promise, I would have applied to Lord Wharton above two months ago; and so I believe would the Archbishop of Dublin

the "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," Wharton avoided seeing him again before leaving for Ireland, and that in spite of a further effort on the part of Lord Somers to bring about friendly relations, Wharton kept Swift at a distance so long as he occupied the office of Lord Lieutenant. It is evident from the tone of this letter and of the "Memoirs," as well as from the virulence for which Swift's "Short Character of the Earl of Wharton" is notorious, that private as well as public grievances played their part in the animosity with which Swift pursued that nobleman. But it is no less certain from a consideration of this letter, written within a few days of the interview with Wharton, which took place between the 19th, the day on which Swift received Archbishop King's letter (see Appendix III), and the 24th, the day on which he wrote to the Primate, that the "Short Character" would never have seen the light if Wharton had lent a more favourable ear to Swift in his capacity of ambassador for the Irish clergy. The assertion made on the authority of Dr. Salter (Scott's "Life," p. 98 and Craik's "Life," i, 197) that Swift had sought in abject terms the place of chaplain to Wharton, and that his hatred of Wharton was entirely due to the rejection of his application in contemptuous terms, cannot be sustained in view of Swift's statement (*supra*, p. 124) at the time, without convicting Swift of the most flagrant mendacity for which at the moment there was no reason.

¹ *I.e.*, without "embracing intellectually." The reference is to Archbishop King's letter of February 10 (*supra*, p. 136) which had reached Swift on the 19th (see Appendix III).

from Ireland; which might have prevented, at least, the present excuse, of not having had the same application; although others might, I suppose, have been found.

I sent last post by the Lord Lieutenant's commands an enclosed letter, from his Excellency to the Lord Primate. In answer to a passage in your former letter; Mr. Stoughton is recommended for a chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant.¹ His sermon is much recommended by several here. He is a prudent person, and knows how to time things. Others of somewhat better figure are as wise as he. A bold opinion is a short easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other.

I am extremely afflicted with a cold, and cough attending it, which must excuse anything ill-expressed in this letter.² Neither is it a subject in the present circumstances very pleasant to dwell upon. I am, &c.

LX. [*Gentleman's Magazine*.³]

SWIFT TO BENJAMIN TOOKE

April 14, 1709.

THEN received of Mr. Benjamin Tooke the sum of forty pounds sterling in full for the original copy of the third part of Sir William Temple's Memoirs;⁴ I say received by me

JONATHAN SWIFT.

¹ *I.e.*, an honorary chaplain (*supra*, p. 138).

² Swift seems to have had between January and that time only slight attacks of his much dreaded complaint (*supra*, p. 129, n. 2). Under the month of March he records "headache frequent; towards the end cough a week but ends in a cold," and under April "begins with cough, turned to cold, well by the 6th" (Forster Collection, No. 506).

³ Vol. lxxiv, Part I, p. 9.

⁴ The title-page of the first edition was as follows: "Memoirs, Part III, from the Peace concluded 1679 to the Time of the Author's Retirement from Publick Business, by Sir William Temple Baronet. . . . Publish'd by Jonathan Swift DD. Printed for Benjamin Tooke, at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleet Street, MDCCIX." It was the publication of this work that gave rise to the well-known controversy between Swift and Temple's sister, Lady Giffard, which will be more fully noticed in connection with Swift's letter to her. According to

LXI. [*Original*.¹]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

April 22, 1709.

DEAR SIR,

I AM in a very great hurry of business, but cannot forbear thanking you for your letter at Chester, which was the only ² entertainment I met with in that place. I hope to see you very suddenly, and will wait on our friend the Bishop of Clogher as soon as I can possibly.³ I have had just time to tell him, *en passant*, that you were well. I long to see you, and am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and most obedient servant,

J. ADDISON.

We arrived yesterday at Dublin.⁴LXII. [*Original*.⁵]THE EARL OF BERKELEY ⁶ TO SWIFTCranford,⁷ Friday night [*April 22, 1709* ⁸].

I HOPE you continue in the mind of coming hither tomorrow: for, upon my sincerity, which is more than most

Swift he had been left by Temple the care of his writings, and he had published between 1700 and 1703 Temple's Letters and the third part of Temple's "Miscellanea" ("Prose Works," i, 212) without any objection apparently having been made by Temple's representatives. But it must be observed that in his will Temple gave no direction with respect to the disposal of his writings, and the autographs remained in possession of his representatives.

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.² The word "good" has been erased.

³ As appears from his list of letters (Appendix III) Swift had given Addison, when leaving London to accompany Lord Wharton to Ireland, a letter to his old friend Bishop Ashe (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2). That letter is entered as having been written on the 9th of the month, and the present letter on the 15th. Swift's resolution to return to Ireland that summer (*supra*, p. 145) is the ground of Addison's hope that he might see him soon.

⁴ Wharton was sworn into office on that day.⁵ In the British Museum. See Preface.⁶ *Supra*, p. 31, n. 1; p. 71, n. 1; p. 110, n. 1.

⁷ Cranford, now a seat of Lord Fitzhardinge and then of the Earl of Berkeley, is situated near Hounslow. Of the house which existed in Swift's time there are no remains.

⁸ Although the endorsement by Swift has misled previous editors,

people's, I shall be heartily glad to see you as much as possible before you go for Ireland. Whether you are or are not for Cranford,¹ I earnestly entreat you, if you have not done it already, that you would not fail of having your bookseller enabling the Archbishop of York to give a book to the Queen; for, with Mr. Nelson, I am entirely of opinion, that her Majesty's reading of the book of the Project for the increase of Morality and Piety, may be of very great use to that end.² I am,

Entirely yours,

B.

Addressed—For Dr. Swift at his lodgings in the Haymarket, London.

Endorsed by Swift—Old Earl of Berkeley about 1706 or 1707.

there is no doubt from its contents that the letter was written about the above date, which fell upon a Friday, and in the list of letters (Appendix III) it is recorded that on the next day Swift received a letter from Lord Berkeley and sent him a reply.

¹ From the terms of this letter, as well as from entries in Swift's account-book (Forster Collection, No. 506), it is evident that Swift stayed often with the Berkeleys at Cranford, and was a much courted guest. Under such circumstances it is difficult to see how Swift felt justified in preserving his terrible pasquinades on Berkeley (see "Poetical Works") or in recording many years later that Berkeley was "intolerably lazy and indolent and somewhat covetous" ("Prose Works," x, 279).

² Although Mr. Temple Scott ("Prose Works," iii, 23) thinks that the "Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners" was published in the previous year, the dating of this letter, together with the notice in the "Tatler" to which Mr. Temple Scott refers, leaves no doubt that the treatise had not long been published when this letter was written. The Archbishop of York was John Sharp, who is said to have subsequently opposed Swift's appointment to a bishopric, and Mr. Nelson was Robert Nelson, the author of the "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England," who had married a sister of Berkeley.

LXIII. [*Copy.*¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

Leicester,² June 13, 1709.

MY LORD,

I AM informed your Lordship has been pleased to rally upon my misfortunes; because I have got an ailment in-commodious for riding. But had your Excellency been Lieutenant of Ireland, if Pelion had been piled upon Ossa, I would have been there before now.³ But the truth is I was ready to fling up crop and pile, which last is the old name for a ship,⁴ whether I should go or no, especially at this juncture, when the case is what Lucan expresses in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, *et pila minantia pilis*.

I sent Sir Andrew Fountaine a very learned description of an old Roman floor—I hope [he] has communicated [it] to Dr. Sloane and Dr. Woodward—which is to be sold a penny-worth. There are only two objections against buying it; first, that it cannot be taken up without breaking, and

¹ In Forster Collection. The copy was made by Forster from the original. The latter was then in the possession of the representatives of Sir Andrew Fountaine (*supra*, p. 61, n. 4) at Narford in Norfolk, which had been Fountaine's country seat, but it appears to have been included in a collection of Swift's letters and papers sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge on 15 December, 1906.

² Swift has recorded in his account-book (Forster Collection, No. 506) that he left London on Thursday 5 May and arrived in Leicester with his mother (*supra*, p. 37, n. 1) on the following Saturday, travelling at the rate of about thirty miles a day, and taking the route through St. Albans, Dunstable, Newport Pagnell, Northampton, and Market Harborough. On the succeeding Friday he started on a five days' visit to Throckmorton in Worcestershire, where he stayed apparently with a relation of Archdeacon Walls (*supra*, p. 69, n. 3) whose family belonged to that county (see "The Visitation of the County of Worcester," edited by W. C. Metcalfe, p. 98). During the last week of May he was the guest of Sir George Beaumont, who is mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, at his seat, Stoughton Grange, near Leicester. The situation of the house in which Swift's mother resided at Leicester is a matter of doubt. It has been variously stated to have been in High Street, at Gallowstree-gate, and opposite the Conduit (see "The Midland Counties Historical Collector," i, 59).

³ As already mentioned (*supra*, p. 70, n. 2), Lord Pembroke delighted in puns. See Appendix II.

⁴ Possibly Swift had some mistaken idea as to the origin of the word pilot.

secondly that it will be too heavy for carriage.¹ He has fallen out with me, because I cannot prevail with a fellow here to part with three Saxon coins,² which the owner values as I did my Alexander seal, and with equal judgement.

There were some fellows here last year, that could make medals faster than the Padua brothers,³ only they dealt altogether in modern ones, and usually struck them upon the high road. I desire to know whether they were not properly Pad-way brothers?

I beg your Excellency⁴ will send me a commission to be captain of a man-of-war of fifty guns for a fortnight, till I get to Ireland. But I can do without it, for if the coasting privateers dare accost me, I will so rattle out your Excellency's name, that it shall fright them as much as ever your ancestor's⁵ did at Boulogne. I always thought ships had rats enough of their own without being troubled with py-rats. Hence comes the old proverb; poison for rats and powder for py-rats. There is another proverb in your Lordship's own calling, which I suppose you know the

¹ The reference is to a famous Roman pavement—said to be the finest in England—which is to be seen at Leicester. Its design is generally supposed to represent the myth of Cyparissus and the Stag, but several other classical stories have been suggested as providing the subject (Nichols' "Hist. of Leicestershire," i, 1, 9). Whether Fountaine communicated the description to Sir Hans Sloane, then the Secretary of the Royal Society, or to the eminent geologist, John Woodward, then a member of the Council, is doubtful; but possibly it may have been the origin of a paper upon the pavement by the Rev. Samuel Carte, the father of the historian, then the Rector of St. Margaret's, Leicester, which appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions" (vol. xxvii, p. 324) for the following year.

² There was a mint at Leicester in Saxon times, and many coins of the period have been found there (Nichols' "Hist. of Leicestershire," i, 1, xli). Swift appears to have spent his time at Leicester with the vendors of curios and books. He records while there the purchase of the works of Plato and Xiphilinus for £1 10s., and of five books which he does not describe for £1 1s. 6d.

³ Two inhabitants of Padua in the sixteenth century, Cavino and Bassiano by name, who made imitations of Roman bronze coins and medallions, designed as works of art and not as forgeries.

⁴ Swift still styles Pembroke by the title which had become familiar during the days of his viceroyalty, although touching on things which concerned Pembroke's then office of Lord High Admiral (*supra*, p. 116, n. 7).

⁵ Presumably William, first Earl of Pembroke, the favourite of Henry VIII.

original of. Ships when they are in dock are quiet, but at sea they sting all they come near. Hence came the saying in dock, out nettle.

I shall be at the seaside in two days, and shall wish heartily for some of your Excellency's snuff against the bilge-water. In the mean time, I humbly beg your Excellency will order your fleets to beat the French this summer, that we may have a peace about Michaelmas, and see your Lordship in Ireland again by spring, for which a million of people in that kingdom would rejoice as much as myself; and the Ash¹ assures me that whenever your Excellency comes over, the whole island will be so inflamed with joy and bonfires, that it will all turn to ashes to receive you. I am with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient, most obliged and most humble servant
J. SWIFT.

Addressed—For the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Admiral, &c., at his house in St. James's Square, London.

Endorsed by Sir A. Fountaine—My Lord, with his service to you, thanks you not only in your memoirs but for your punnade, which he is glad you take, it being the best cure for your ailment. His Lordship has left it to me to give you a farther dose.

LXIV. [*Original*.²]

SWIFT TO LORD HALIFAX

Leicester, *June* 13, 1709.

MY LORD,³

BEFORE I leave this place, where ill health has detained me longer than I intended, I thought it my duty to return

¹ The reference is to the Rev. Dillon Ashe or his brother Thomas Ashe (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2), who, as will be seen in Appendix II, were foremost in providing puns for Pembroke's amusement.

² In the British Museum (Add. MSS., 7121, f. 71). The letter was first printed in the "New Monthly Magazine" for 1842 (vol. lxiv, p. 111), and subsequently by Peter Cunningham, who gave the date as January 13, in his edition of Johnson's "Lives of the English Poets" (vol. iii, p. 201). It is also printed in Ellis's "Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men," Camden Society, p. 338.

³ Swift had gained the friendship of Lord Halifax, like that of

your Lordship my acknowledgments for all your favours to me while I was in town; and at the same time, to beg some share in your Lordship's memory, and the continuance of your protection. You were pleased to promise me your good offices upon occasion, which I humbly challenge in two particulars; one is, that you will sometimes put my Lord President¹ in mind of me; the other is, that your Lordship will duly once every year wish me removed to England. In the meantime, I must take leave to reproach your Lordship for a most inhuman piece of cruelty, for I can call your extreme good usage of me no better, since it has taught me to hate the place where I am banished, and raised my thoughts to an imagination, that I might live to be some way useful or entertaining, if I were permitted to live in town, or, which is the highest punishment on Papists, anywhere within ten miles round it. You remember very well, my Lord, how another person of quality in Horace's time, used to serve a sort of fellows who had disobliged him; how he sent them fine clothes, and money, which raised their thoughts and their hopes, till those were worn out and spent; and then they were ten times more miserable than before. *Hac ego si compellar imagine, cuncta resigno*. I could cite several other passages from the same author, to my purpose; and whatever is applied to Maecenas I will not thank your Lordship for accepting; because it is what you have been condemned to these twenty years by every one of us *qui se mêlent d'avoir de l'esprit*.

I have been studying how to be revenged of your Lordship, and have found out the way. They have in Ireland the same idea with us, of your Lordship's generosity, magnificence, wit, judgement, and knowledge in the enjoyment of life.² But I shall quickly undeceive them, by letting them plainly know that you have neither interest nor fortune which you can call your own; both having been long made over to the corporation of deserving men in

Somers, by his publication of "The Contests of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome," and was frequently a guest at his house. For further notice of his relations with that brilliant statesman and munificent patron of literature see "Prose Works," *passim*.

¹ Lord Somers (*supra*, p. 116, n. 7).

² In later years Swift passed judgement on Halifax in these words: "I never heard him say one good thing or seem to taste what was said by another" ("Prose Works," x, 275).

want, who have appointed you their advocate and steward, which the world is pleased to call patron and protector. I shall inform them, that myself and about a dozen others kept the best table in England, to which because we admitted your Lordship in common with us, made you our manager, and sometimes allowed you to bring a friend, therefore ignorant people would needs take you to be the owner. And lastly, that you are the most injudicious person alive, because though you had fifty times more wit than all of us together, you never discover the least value for it, but are perpetually countenancing and encouraging that of others. I could add a great deal more, but shall reserve the rest of my threatenings till further provocation. In the meantime I demand of your Lordship the justice of believing me to be with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most obliged humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

Pray, my Lord, desire Dr. South to die about the fall of the leaf,¹ for he has a prebend of Westminster which will make me your neighbour, and a sinecure in the country² both in the Queen's gift, which my friends have often told me would fit me extremely. And forgive me one word, which I know not what extorts from me: that if my Lord President would in such a juncture think me worth laying any weight of his credit [on], you cannot but think me persuaded that it would be a very easy matter to compass; and I have some sort of pretence, since the late King promised me a prebend of Westminster when I petitioned him in pursuance of a recommendation I had from Sir William Temple.

Addressed—For the Right Honourable the Lord Halifax, at his house in the New Palace Yard in Westminster, London.

¹ The death of the well-known Dr. Robert South had been announced a few months before at the age of eighty (Luttrell, *op. cit.*, vi, 417). He survived, however, until 1716, and was only eighty-two at that time. He was an intimate friend of Swift's uncle Thomas (*supra*, p. 59, n. 1) and assisted his widow (Deane Swift's "Essay," xxxiv).

² The sinecure was Islip, near Oxford (Craik's "Life," i, 235). The rectory house is said to have been built by South.

LXV. [*Original*.¹]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

Dublin Castle, *June 25, 1709.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM heartily glad to hear that you are so near us.² If you will deliver the enclosed to the Captain of the "Wolf," I dare say he will accommodate you with all in his power. If he has left Chester, I have sent you a bill according to the Bishop of Clogher's desire, of whom I have a thousand good things to say. I do not ask your excuse about the yacht, because I do not want it, as you shall hear at Dublin; if I did, I should think myself inexcusable.³ I long to talk over all affairs with you, and am ever, dear Sir,

Yours most entirely,

J. ADDISON.

The yacht will come over with the Acts of Parliament, and a convoy,⁴ about a week hence, which opportunity you

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² Swift left Leicester (*supra*, p. 153, n. 2) on Tuesday, 14 June. He travelled that day as far as Stone, stopping for dinner at "Burton on the Hill," and the next day reached Chester, stopping for dinner at Nantwich. At Chester, or in the neighbourhood of that town, Swift remained for twelve days, possibly enjoying the hospitality of a friend, or waiting for a favourable wind to waft him to Ireland. He notes while there the expenditure of ten shillings on a guide and two shillings on a boat (Forster Collection, No. 506). On the 27th his boxes were carried to Parkgate (*supra*, p. 61, n. 3), and he embarked on the 29th, at three o'clock in the morning, at Dawpool, another small port on the river Dee.

³ After his arrival at Chester Swift had written to Addison and to Bishop Ashe (see Appendix III). Evidently in his letter to the former he had asked for a passage in the Government yacht, a favour often granted to private persons, and in his letter to the latter he had indicated that his money was running short. The yacht was then not available, and all Addison could do was to offer him a passage in the "Wolf," a sloop-of-war, then guarding the Channel. Addison's letter did not reach Chester until Swift had left—it was sent after him to Ireland (see Appendix III)—and how he crossed does not appear.

⁴ The officials in London were then "under great impatience" for bills coming over from the Irish Parliament for the approval of the Privy Council in England, and as no doubt there was equal impatience in Dublin for their return, the yacht had to wait at Parkgate until the

may lay hold of, if you do not like the "Wolf." I will give orders accordingly.

LXVI. [*Original*.¹]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

Nine o'clock Monday morning [*July*, 1709].²

DEAR SIR,

I THINK it very hard I should be in the same kingdom with Dr. Swift, and not have the happiness of his company once in three days. The Bishop of Clogher³ intends to call on you this morning, as will your humble servant in my return from Chapelizod,⁴ whither I am just now going.

Your humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

messenger came back with them. The necessity for a convoy was great at that time; shortly before one of the packet-boats had been captured by a French privateer, and a fleet of ships carrying wool from Ireland to Bristol, although under the convoy of two men-of-war, had been attacked by "seven privateers of the enemy" which were only beaten off with difficulty (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² The ship in which Swift crossed (*supra*, p. 158, n. 3) reached Dublin Bay on Thursday evening, 30 June. The next morning Swift landed at Ringsend, which lies at the mouth of the river Liffey, at seven o'clock, and "went straight to Laracor without seeing anybody." On the following Monday he returned to Dublin. This letter, which was probably written a few days later, "bears marks of having been written in great haste."

³ Bishop Ashe appears to have seen much of Addison while in Ireland, and to have made a favourable impression on the great essayist (*infra*, p. 166).

⁴ Where the Lord-Lieutenant's country residence (*supra*, p. 36, n. 3) was situated.

LXVII. [*Original*.¹]ANTHONY HENLEY² TO SWIFT

Εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ Εὐπράττειν.

[*July*, 1709.³]

REVEREND SIR,

IT is reported of the famous Regiomontanus, that he framed an eagle so artfully of a certain wood, that upon the approach of the Emperor Maximilian to the opulent city of Nuremberg, it took wing, and flew out of the gates to meet him, and, as my author has it, appeared as though alive. Give me leave to attribute this excellent invention to the vehement desire he had to entertain his master with something extraordinary, and to say with the poet, *amor addidit alas*. I am trying a like experiment, whether I cannot make this composition of old rags, gall, and vitriol fly to Dublin; and if, as the moving lion, which was composed by an Italian chemist, and opened his breast, and showed the imperial arms painted on its heart, this could disclose itself, and discover to you the high esteem and affection I have for you, I should attain my end, and not only sacrifice a hecatomb, but cry out, with ecstatic Archimedes, *εὕρηκα*.

I should not have presumed to imagine, that you would deign to cast an eye on anything proceeding from so mean a hand as mine, had I not been encouraged by that character of candour and sweetness of temper for which you are so justly celebrated and esteemed by all good men, as the *deliciae humani generis*; and I make no question, but like your predecessor⁴ you reckon every day as lost, in

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 112, n. 2.

³ Although Hawkesworth and Sheridan have dated this letter November, 1708, and Nichols and Scott June, 1710, there is no doubt from its contents that it was written in the summer of 1709. In a note for which Scott ("Works," xv, 357) is responsible, the letter is said to be "one of the most conceited letters in the collection, being upon the very false gallop of wit or rather smartness from the beginning to the end." In the opinion of Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 254), many of the notes in Scott's edition cannot fairly be ascribed to Scott himself.

⁴ The words "an Emperor again" have been struck out.

which you have not an opportunity of doing some act of beneficence. I was moreover emboldened by the adage, which does not stick to affirm, that one of the most despicable of animals may look upon the greatest of Queens, as it has been proved to a demonstration by a late most judicious author, whom, as I take it, you have vouchsafed to immortalize by your learned lucubrations.¹ And as proverbs are the wisdom of a nation, so I take the naturalizing such a quantity of very expressive ones, as we did by the Act of Union, to be one of the considerablest advantages we shall reap from it; and I do not question but the nation will be the wiser for the future.

But I have digressed too far, and therefore resume my thread. I know my own unworthiness to deserve your favour, but let this attempt pass on any account for some merit. *In magnis voluisse sat est*. And though all cannot be sprightly like F—d, wise like T—rs, agreeable like B—th, polite like P—r—de, or, to sum up all, though there be but one phoenix, and one *lepidissimus homuncio*, T—p—m;² yet since a cup of cold water was not an unacceptable present to a thirsty Emperor, I may flatter myself, that this tender of my services (how mean soever) may not be contemned; and though I fall from my great attempt, *spero trovar pietà non che perdono*, as that mellifluous ornament of Italy, Francesco Petrarca, sweetly has it. Mr. Crowther³ I have often heard affirm, and the fine thinkers of all ages have constantly held, that much good may be attained by reading of history. And Dr. Sloane

¹ "The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff," now known as the "Tatler," were then appearing tri-weekly in a folio sheet. Throughout that publication Swift's "uncommon way of thinking" and "turn of conversation" may be traced, but I am inclined to think, for reasons which I shall give in connection with a letter from Steele (*infra*, p. 166, n. 7), that Swift's contributions were very few, and that articles attributed to him did not come from his pen ("Prose Works," ix, 5-37).

² As a conjecture, and no more, I suggest that the sprightly F—d may have been Swift's friend, Charles Ford, of whom we shall see more later on; the agreeable B—th, the Earl of Warrington's son, Langham Booth, then knight of the shire for Cheshire; the polite P—r—de, Philip Frowde (*supra*, p. 101, n. 2), whose name is sometimes spelled with a P; and the incomparable T—p—m, Richard Topham, member for New Windsor, and Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. T—rs has baffled me.

³ *Supra*, p. 134, n. 3.

is of opinion, that modern travels are very behoveful toward forming the mind, and enlarging the thoughts of the curious part of mankind.¹

Give me leave to speak a little from both these topics. In the Roman triumphs, which were doubtless the most august spectacles that were ever seen, it was the constant custom, that the public executioner should be behind the conqueror, to remind him, says my author, from time to time, that these honours were transitory, and could not secure him from the severity of the laws.² Colonel Morryson of the Guards³—he lives next door to Tart-Hall—his father was in Virginia, and being like to be starved, the company had recourse to a learned master of arts; his name was Venter: he advised them to eat one another *pour passer le temps*, and to begin with a fat cook-maid. She had certainly gone to pot, had not a ship arrived just in the nick with a quantity of pork, which appeased their hunger, and saved the wench's bacon.

To apply these: did you never, when rioting in the costly dainties of my Lord High Admiral's⁴ table, when the polytasted wine excited jovial thoughts, and banished serious reflections, did you never forget your frail mortal condition; or when, at another time, you have wiped the point of a knife, or perhaps with a little spoon taken some Attic salt out of Mrs. F[loy]d's⁵ *cadenas*; and, as the poet sings, *qui sedens adversus identidem . . . spectat et audit*; did you not think yourself *par Deo*? Pray God you did not; pray God you

¹ The first volume of Sir Hans Sloane's great work, "A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, St. Christophers and Jamaica with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.," which had appeared two years before, bears on the title-page the well-known verse from the Book of Daniel, "Many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased."

² This statement has for its authority the passage in Isidorus, where the part taken in the triumphs by a public slave is said to have been performed by the executioner: "Quod vero a carnifice contingebantur, id erat judicio, ut ad tantum fastigium evicti mediocritatis humane commonerentur."

³ Henry Morryson, then a Captain of the Coldstream Guards with the brevet rank of Colonel. He commanded subsequently the regiment afterwards known as the 8th Foot, and died in 1720. He was at the siege of Namur, and was taken prisoner there (Dalton's "English Army Lists").

⁴ *Supra*, p. 116, n. 7.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 134, n. 6.

did not think yourself *superare divos*. Confess the truth, Doctor, you did; confess it, and repent of it, if it be not too late: but, alas! I fear it is.

And now, methinks, I look down into that bog all flaming with bonny-clabber, and usquebaugh; and hear you gnashing your teeth and crying, "Oh! what would I give now for a glass of that small beer I used to say was sour; or a pinch of that snuff, which I used to say was the cursedest stuff in the world; and borrow as much as would lie on a shilling the minute after. Oh! what would I give to have had a monitor in those moments to have put me in mind of the sword hanging by a twine-thread over my head, and to have cried in a voice as loud as Southwell's *Memento, Doctor, quia Hibernus es, et in Hiberniam reverteris!*" Every man in the midst of his pleasures should remember the Roman executioner: and I have been assured, that had it not been for the unfortunate loss of his Royal Highness the Prince, Sir Charles Duncombe would have revived that useful ceremony, which might be very properly introduced in the Lord Mayor's cavalcade.²

I would not be mistaken either in what has gone before, or in that which is to follow, as if I took you to be a belly-god, an Apicius, or him that wished his neck as long as a crane's, that he might have the greater pleasure in swallowing. No, dear Doctor, far be it from me to think you *Epicuri de grege porcum*. I know, indeed, you are *helluo*, but it is *librorum*, as the learned Dr. Accepted Frewen, sometime Archbishop of York, was; and *ingenii*, as the quaint Dr. Offspring Blackall, now Bishop of Exeter, is.³ Therefore

¹ *Supra*, p. 86, n. 3.

² Sir Charles Duncombe, being a Tory, was a fair mark for the sarcasms of the Whiggish Henley. Although "the pageant at Duncombe's mayoralty was described in the usual strain in a tract of six pages" ("D. N. B.," xvi, 177), the procession did not traverse the streets of London. "The great solemnities and preparations designed for the splendid show of Sir Charles Duncombe, our new Lord Mayor," says Luttrell (*op. cit.*, vi, 367), "were laid aside on account of the Prince's death, and his Lordship, accompanied by some of the Aldermen in their coaches, went [without ostentation] to Westminster Hall where he took the usual oaths."

³ These prelates seem to have been selected by Henley to illustrate his point rather from the singularity of their Christian names than from any claim to exceptional distinction in the directions indicated. Frewen's reputation rests principally on the munificence with which he dispensed his wealth, while Blackall, who was at that time being

let us return to the use which may be made of modern travels, and apply Mr. Morryson's to your condition.

You are now cast on an inhospitable island; no mathematical figures on the sand, no *vestigia hominum* to be seen; perhaps at this very time reduced to one single barrel of damaged biscuit, and short allowance even of salt-water.¹ What is to be done? Another in your condition would look about; perhaps he might find some potatoes; or get an old piece of iron, and make a harpoon, and if he found Higgon² sleeping near the shore, strike him and eat him. The western islanders of Scotland say, it is good meat, and his train oil, bottled till it mantles, is a delicious beverage, if the inhabitants of Lapland are to be credited.

But this I know is too gross a pabulum for one, who, as

satirized in the "Tatler" in connection with his controversy with Hoadley, is assigned by Abbey ("The English Church and its Bishops," 1700-1800, i, 153) to a secondary place amongst the bishops of Queen Anne's reign.

¹ "Though six or seven years were to pass before De Foe's immortal masterpiece was written," says Forster ("Life," p. 264), "there are whimsical foreshadowings of Crusoe in Henley's quaint letter."

² The Rev. Francis Higgins, to whom Henley is thought to refer, has been called "the Irish Sacheverell." As a member of the Swan Tripe Club in Dublin—an assembly which existed, as was alleged, "with intent to create misunderstandings between Protestants which tended to promote the interest of the pretended Prince of Wales"—Higgins has been thus described in verses which Barrett ascribed ("Essay," p. 107) to Swift:

"Of these the fam'd Borachio is the chief,
A son of pudding and eternal beef;
The jovial god, with all-inspiring grace,
Sits on the scarlet honours of his face.

Wild notions flow from his immoderate head
And statutes quoted—moderately read;
Whole floods of words his moderate wit reveal,
Yet the good man's immoderate in zeal."

Two years before, sermons which Higgins had preached in Dublin and London had created a great uproar (see "Royal Irish Academy Tracts"), and an account of an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he published under the title of "A Postscript to Mr. Higgins' Sermon very Necessary for the better Understanding it," was burnt "by the hands of the Common Hangman at the Tholsel of the City of Dublin and at the Parliament House door" under an order of "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled in Ireland" as "a false scandalous and seditious libel" ("The Dublin Gazette," 29 July-2 August, 1707).

the chameleon lives on air, has always hitherto lived on wit; and whose friends, God be thanked, design he should continue to do so, and on nothing else. Therefore I would advise you to fall upon old Joan, eat, do I live to bid thee, eat Addison: and when you have eat everybody else, eat my Lord Lieutenant—he is something lean—God help the while;¹ and though it will, for aught I know, be treason, there will be nobody left to hang you, unless you should think fit to do yourself that favour; which if you should, pray do not write me word of it, because I should be very sorry to hear of any ill that should happen to you, as being with a profound veneration, one of the greatest of your admirers,

T. B.

or any other two letters you like better.

Pray direct your answer to me, at the Serjeant's Head in Cornwall; or at Mr. Sentiment's, a potty carrier, in Common Garden, in the Phhs.

LXVIII. [*Original.*']

LORD HALIFAX TO SWIFT

October 6, 1709.

SIR,

OUR friend Mr. Addison telling me that he was to write to you to-night,² I would not let his packet go away without telling you how much I am concerned to find them returned without you. I am quite ashamed for myself and my friends, to see you left in a place so incapable of tasting you; and to see so much merit, and so great qualities unrewarded by those who are sensible of them. Mr. Addison and I are entered into a new confederacy, never to give over the pursuit, nor to cease reminding those, who can serve you, till your worth is placed in that light where it ought to shine. Dr. South holds out still, but he cannot

¹ *Supra*, p. 131, n. 1.

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ Lord Wharton and Addison had arrived about ten days before in London from Ireland.

be immortal.¹ The situation of his prebendary would make me doubly concerned in serving you, and upon all occasions, that shall offer, I will be your constant solicitor, your sincere admirer, and your unalterable friend. I am

Your most humble and obedient servant,

HALIFAX.

Endorsed by Swift—I kept this letter as a true original of courtiers and Court promises.

LXIX. [*Original*.²]

RICHARD STEELE TO SWIFT

Lord Sunderland's Office, *October 8, 1709.*

DEAR SIR,

MR. SECRETARY ADDISON went this morning out of town, and left behind him an agreeable command for me, viz. to forward the enclosed, which Lord Halifax sent him for you.³ I assure you no man could say more in praise of another, than he did in your behalf at that noble Lord's table on Wednesday last. I doubt not but you will find by the enclosed the effect it had upon him. No opportunity is omitted among powerful men, to upbraid them for your stay in Ireland. The company that day at dinner were Lord Edward Russell, Lord Essex, Mr. Mainwaring,⁴ Mr. Addison, and myself. I have heard such things said of that same Bishop of Clogher⁵ with you, that I have often said he must be entered *ad eundem* in our House of Lords. Mr. Philips dined with me yesterday: he is still a shepherd, and walks very lonely through this unthinking crowd in London.⁶ I wonder you do not write sometimes to me.⁷

¹ This was a reply to Swift's letter from Leicester (*supra*, p. 155).

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ The preceding letter from Lord Halifax.

⁴ Lord Edward Russell was the distinguished admiral better known under his title of Orford; Lord Essex was the son and successor of the unhappy Earl of Essex, who, in Swift's opinion ("Prose Works," x, 276), perished by his own hand while a prisoner in the Tower, and Mr. Mainwaring, to whom Steele dedicated the "Tatler," was afterwards known as the editor of the "Medley."

⁵ *Supra*, p. 158.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 141, n. 2.

⁷ Swift's list of letters, which was evidently kept at that time with

The town is in great expectation from Bickerstaff; what passed at the election for his first table being to be published this day sevensnight.¹ I have not seen Ben Tooke² a great while, but long to usher you and yours into the world.³ Not that there can be any thing added by me to your fame, but to walk bareheaded before you. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

the utmost care, shows that Steele's complaint was well grounded (see Appendix III). While at Leicester Swift had despatched three letters to Steele on 11 and 26 May and 13 June, and had received one from him on 14 May. There is then no entry of Steele's name until October; on the 23rd of that month Swift notes that he received this letter, and on the 30th that he despatched his reply. In face of these facts the only conclusion which seems to me possible is that the contributions to the "Tatler" during the year 1709, hitherto attributed to Swift ("Prose Works," ix, 5-37), did not come from his pen, however much they may owe to his influence—a view in which I feel greatly strengthened by the opinion of Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 255 note) that in several cases the style is unlike that of Swift. As regards the contents of the three letters which Swift sent to Steele from Leicester, I venture to suggest contributions to the "Tatler" which have been never before assigned to Swift. It seems to me probable from the style, as well as from the dates, that Swift sent on 13 May a letter dated as if from Bath on that day, which appears in the "Tatler" of 17 May (No. 16); on 26 May a letter dated as if from York on 16 May and signed Ephraim Bedstaff, which appears in the "Tatler" of 28 May (No. 21); and on 13 June a letter undated and unsigned beginning "dear cousin," which appears in the "Tatler" of 21 June (No. 31).

¹ The reference is to No. 81 of the "Tatler," in continuation of No. 67, which has been attributed to Swift.

² Benjamin Tooke, to whom Swift sold the copyright of the third part of Temple's "Memoirs" (*supra*, p. 150), is presented in Dunton's amusing pages (*op. cit.*, i, 212) as a man of refined sense, truly honest, and unblemished in his reputation—qualities which he inherited from his father, who was Treasurer of the Stationers' Company, and who added, we are told, to integrity of character much ingenuity. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" (N.S., xii, 604) an attempt is made to trace Tooke's descent from Henry VIII's Treasurer, Sir Brian Tuke.

³ It is evident, from a subsequent letter (*infra*, p. 185), that it had been suggested that the volume of miscellaneous writings of which Swift had meditated the publication in the previous autumn (*supra*, p. 111, n. 4), should be prefaced by an introduction from Steele.

LXX. [*Nichols' Illustrations of Literary History.*]

SWIFT TO AMBROSE PHILIPS

October 30, 1709.

SIR,

I WAS surprised to find in a letter from Mr. Steele that you are now in London,¹ and am at a loss whether public or private business hath brought you over. Your coming has spoiled a letter I had half written to send you to Copenhagen. It was not laziness, spleen, or neglect that made me omit acknowledging two of yours so long; but downright sickness, which, after a year's pursuing, now I hope begins to leave me where I am, in the country, cultivating half an acre of Irish bog.² The taste you sent me of northern eloquence is very extraordinary. They seem to have heard there is such a thing in the world as wit and sublime, and not knowing better, they supply the want of both with sounding words. That which vexes me is the difficulty in construing their Latin, and keeping my breath so long between a relative and antecedent, or a noun and a verb. I could match you with Irish poetry, and printed Latin poetry too; but Mr. Addison showed it me, and can give you the best account of it.

You are a better Bickerstaff than I; for you foretold all the circumstances how I should receive your last packet, with the honorary memorial of Monsieur I do not know who. My Lord Wharton gave me the letter: I went aside, and opened it, and people thronged about me to ask what it was, and I showed it his Excellency.³

¹ *Supra*, p. 166.

² As appears from his list of letters (Appendix III), Swift had received one from Philips in May and another on 16 August; a third from Philips crossed this letter, reaching Swift a few hours after it was written. In his account-book (Forster Collection, No. 506) under August Swift notes that he suffered much from giddiness (*supra*, p. 129, n. 2), but during that month and the next he was able to pay many visits to Dilly Ashe at Finglas (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2), as well as to other friends, and, as the items of expenditure indicate, spent more time in Dublin than at Laracor.

³ In this casual mention of his presence at a viceregal reception Swift hardly conveys the impression that he saw Wharton so seldom or so distantly as he states in the "Memoirs relating to that Change

My heart is absolutely broke with the misfortunes of the King of Sweden. Nothing pleased me more in the thoughts of going abroad than some hopes I had of being sent to that Court; and now, to see that poltroon Augustus putting out his manifestoes, and pretending again to Poland after the tame submissions he made!¹ It puts me in mind of the sick lion in the fable. Among all the insults offered him nothing vexed him so much as the spurns of an ass. I hope you are laying new stocks to revive your poetical reputation. But I am wholly in the dark about you, whether you have left the North, or are only sent back on an embassy from the Envoy.

You have the best friend in the world, Mr. Addison, who is never at ease while any men of worth are not so; and Mr. Steele is *alter ab illo*. What says my Lord Dorset?² You had not me for a counsellor when you chose him for a patron.

Is Colonel Hunter gone to his government?³ He is *méchant homme*, and he has never written to me since he came from France, and I came for Ireland. Your Colonel Whaley and I are mighty good acquaintance, he loves and esteems you much, and I am sorry that expedition did not hold.⁴ When you write any more poetry, do me honour; mention me in it. It is the common request of Tully and Pliny to the great authors of their age; and I will contrive it so that Prince Posterity shall know I was favoured by the men of wit in my time.

Pray send me word how your affairs are, that I may order my manner of writing to you accordingly, and re-

in the Queen's Ministry" ("Prose Works," v, 382, and *supra*, p. 148, n. 3).

¹ The allusion is to the events connected with the battle of Pultowa, which was fought on 8 July in that year.

² *Supra*, p. 110, n. 1.

³ Hunter (*supra*, p. 133, n. 3) had before then returned to England and been appointed Governor of New York. He did not sail for that province until the following year.

⁴ The reference is probably to Bernard Whaley, an officer in what is now known as the Staffordshire Regiment. According to Dalton ("English Army Lists," v, 182) this regiment was stationed in Ireland for some years before 1707, when it embarked for the West Indies. Probably the regiment did not sail until a later date, or Whaley was left behind for special duty. He did not become Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment until 1712, but may have been previously given brevet rank.

member me sometimes in your walks up the Park, and wish for me amongst you. I reckon no man is thoroughly miserable unless he be condemned to live in Ireland; and yet I have not the spleen, for I was not born to it. Let me know whether the North has not cooled your Geneva flames: but you have one comfort, that the loss of the lady's fortunes will increase her love, and assure you her person, and you may now be out of pain of your rival Monsieur le Baron.

Pray write to me, and remember me, and drink my health sometimes with our friends; and believe me ever

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LXXI. [*Facsimile*.¹]

SWIFT TO LADY GIFFARD

November 10, 1709.

MADAM²

I HAD some time ago the honour of a letter from your Ladyship, which I could not acknowledge so soon as I in-

¹ In Mr. Alfred Morrison's "Catalogue of Manuscript Letters," vi, 218. The letter is printed with the omission of the two opening sentences in Courtenay's "Life of Sir William Temple," ii, 243.

² In the words *Marthae Giffard optimae sorori*, which were inscribed by her brother's directions on the monument erected in Westminster Abbey to him and those dear to him, Sir William Temple has eloquently described the relations between Lady Giffard and himself. Her story had been a tragic one.

"Grief from Dorinda's face does ne'er depart
Farther than its own palace in her heart;"

as Swift says in his poem on "Sir W. Temple's Illness and Recovery." It has been stated that she was "maid, wife, and widow in one day," and that her husband, when at the point of death, married her in order that she might bear his name and succeed to his estate. The recorded facts are that on 21 April, 1662, Sir Thomas Giffard was married, and that thirteen days later, number of ill omen, he was dead. Only the year before he had been created a baronet, elected a member of parliament, and restored to his paternal estate, and everything seemed to promise for him a life of prosperity and happiness. But adversity appears to have been the lot of his race, for his grandfather was killed while fighting for Queen Elizabeth on the Irish battlefield, and his father died during the Commonwealth, away from home and kin in the city of Chester where, for his loyalty to the Royal cause, he had been a prisoner for seven years.

tended because I was in the country, as I still am,¹ and had only heard of an advertisement you were pleased to put out against me, and in order to ruin my reputation.² In a short time after several of my friends in London sent me that advertisement; but, their packets coming to the Secretary's Office³ here they were not conveyed to me till very lately.

The writer of the "Postman" pleads for his excuse that the advertisement was taken in and printed without his knowledge, and that he refused to repeat it, though urged by that same Mr. Wilcocks from my Lord Berkeley's⁴ in Dover Street, in your Ladyship's name. He thought it too unchristian a thing for him to defend. But all that shall not provoke me to do a disrespectful action to your Ladyship, or any of Sir William Temple's family; and therefore I have directed an answer wholly consistent with religion and good manners.

I wonder why your Ladyship will please to see a contradiction, where I hope there is none. By particular commands one thing is understood; and by general ones another. And I might insist upon it, that I had particular commands for everything I did, though more particular for some than for others. Your Ladyship says, if ever they were designed to be printed, it must have been from the original. Nothing of his ever printed in my time was from

¹ Swift received Lady Giffard's letter on 6 October. He had also, in August, received one from her and sent a reply. As his account-book shows, soon after Wharton and Addison left Ireland (*supra*, p. 165, n. 3), Swift went from Dublin to Laracor, and remained there until 18 November, when he set out to pay a visit to Bishop Ashe at his episcopal seat.

² The advertisement related to the publication of the third part of Temple's "Memoirs," the copyright of which Swift had sold in the previous April to Tooke (*supra*, p. 150).

³ The packets were probably sent by Addison with his official letters to Dublin Castle in order to save postage. Under date 30 October, Swift notes the receipt of letters from Addison, Philips, and Fountaine (see Appendix III). The words, "Secretary's Office," were misread by Mr. Morrison as "Surcharge Office."

⁴ The reference is to William, fourth Baron Berkeley of Stratton, and not to Swift's patron, the Earl of Berkeley. The former, who was then a widower, had married a niece of Lady Giffard, a daughter of her brother, Sir John Temple (*supra*, p. 54, n. 2). It is remarkable that his elder brother and predecessor in the title, John, third Baron Berkeley, had also married a daughter of Sir John Temple, who survived for many years, and as widow of her second husband, the first Earl of Portland, was a well-known person in the Court of George II.

the original. The first Memoirs was from my copy; so were the second Miscellanea: so was the Introduction to the English History: so was every volume of Letters.¹ They were all copied from the originals by Sir William Temple's direction, and corrected all along by his orders: and it was the same with these last Memoirs: so that whatever be printed since I had the honour to know him, was an unfaithful copy if it must be tried by the original. Madam, I pretend not to have had the least share in Sir William Temple's confidence above his relatives or his commonest friends—I have but too good reason to think otherwise. But this was a thing in my way; and it was no more than to prefer the advice of a lawyer, or even of a tradesman, before that of his friends, in things that related to their callings. Nobody else had conversed so much with his manuscripts as I; and since I was not wholly illiterate, I cannot imagine whom else he could leave the care of his writings to.

I do not expect your Ladyship or family will ask my leave for what you are to say; but all people should ask leave of reason and religion rather than of resentment; and will your Ladyship think, indeed, that is agreeable to either to reflect in print upon the veracity of an innocent man? Is it agreeable to prudence, or at least to caution, to do that which might break all measures with any man who is capable of retaliating? Your nephews² say the printed copy differs from the original in forty places, as to words, and manner of expression. I believe it may in a hundred.³ It is the same, or more, in all he ever printed in my memory. And that passage about my Lord Sunderland was left out by his consent; though, to say the truth, at my entreaty: and I would fain have prevailed to have left out another.⁴

¹ The three works first mentioned were published in Temple's lifetime (*supra*, p. 10, n. 1); the Letters, as well as the third part of the "Miscellanea," after his death (*supra*, p. 150, n. 4).

² *Supra*, p. 54, n. 2; p. 57, n. 1.

³ The original is now in the British Museum, where it is described as "Memoirs of Sir William Temple, Part III, autograph ex legato Rev. John Longe" (Add. MSS. 9804). The variations between the manuscript and the printed version, which are underlined in the manuscript in pencil, are of the most trivial kind, and do not exceed twenty in number. As Courtenay has observed (*op. cit.*, ii, 248), there is no foundation for the insinuation that Swift garbled the text.

⁴ The words relating to Lord Sunderland, which were omitted,

Your Ladyship is misinformed by those who told you I ever left any papers in booksellers' hands, or any others': which I protest I never did a minute, nor ever shall. I had too much warning by the papers left with Sir Robert Southwell, which fell into booksellers' hands.¹ I might add a great deal more to what I have said, and I cannot accuse myself of one single action of disrespect to your Ladyship, or family. These Memoirs were printed by a correct copy, exactly after the same manner as the author's other works were. He told me a dozen times, upon asking him, that it was his intention they should be printed after his death, but never fixed anything about the time. The corrections were all his own, ordering me to correct in my copy as I received it, as he always did. Knowing your Ladyship's opinion was against their publishing, I did it without your knowledge, on purpose to leave you wholly without blame: and I humbly conceive it would have been enough to have said so in the advertisement, without adding the words "un-

occur in the following passage referring to Temple's position in the Government not long after the formation of the Privy Council, of which he was the author. They are printed in italics. "I was now in a posture to be admirably pleased with having part in public affairs. The Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury from the very first; Lord Essex and Halifax out of all commerce with me upon what had passed; *Lord Sunderland now breaking all measures with me*; great civility from the other Ministers but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved." The words which Swift wished to be omitted were evidently those which follow a few lines farther on, where Temple says: "I lived on with my Lord Sunderland in all kindness, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin." As has been mentioned (*supra*, p. 24, n. 1), Courtenay doubts the correctness of a statement made by Swift in the preface to the third part of the "Memoirs" that Temple continued until his death in the most intimate friendship with Sunderland, but Swift's expectations of promotion from Sunderland, as well as the visit of Sunderland's son as a youth to Moor Park (*supra*, p. 87, n. 2), tend to confirm its truth. It is, however, the case, as Courtenay remarks, that the commendation of Sunderland's "abilities and virtues," which Swift says, in the preface, will be found in the "Memoirs," are non-existent, and that this misrepresentation was probably adopted in order to propitiate Sunderland's son—that "most learned and excellent Lord" as Swift then called him (*supra*, p. 125, n. 1).

¹ The allusion is probably to the second part of Temple's "Memoirs" which are said to have been first published by some person to whom a copy had been lent by a friend (Courtenay's "Life of Temple," ii, 152).

faithful copy," to which I should have been content to submit. I am, with great respect, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient, humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

I forgot to answer one thing your Ladyship says. You wonder why I should complain of your refusing me those papers when I was possessed of correct copies. It was because I could not possibly be secure while there were any copies out of my possession, and those sometimes, as your Ladyship owned to me, lent abroad; and besides I knew that they justly belonged to me, and it was the fear of that incorrect original getting abroad¹ made me publish mine, which I might still have deferred had the other been in my power, and had I been sure no straggling copy were in the hands of anybody else.

Addressed—For my Lady Giffard, at her house in Dover Street, London.

LXXII. [*Original*.²]

SWIFT TO LORD HALIFAX

Dublin,³ *November 13, 1709.*

MY LORD,

I CANNOT but pity your Lordship's misfortune in being a great man, by which disadvantage you are never qualified to receive such letters as you write, but instead of them, only tedious expressions of respect and gratitude, wherein you are generally deceived too. For I believe it is with gratitude as with love, the more a man has of it at heart, he is but the worse at expressing it. Such reflections as these were occasioned by the honour of your Lordship's

¹ *Supra*, p. 150, n. 4.

² It is preserved in the British Museum with Swift's previous letter to Halifax. This letter has also been printed with the other one in the works mentioned (*supra*, p. 155, n. 2).

³ According to his account-book, Swift was then living at Laracor (*supra*, p. 171, n. 1). Possibly as the date fell on a Sunday he may have gone up to Dublin to preach as a Prebendary of St. Patrick's Cathedral, or perhaps he thought Dublin a more imposing address than Laracor to send Halifax.

letter.¹ And what is yet worse, I am afraid I have discovered through all your Lordship's civilities, that I have some share in your favour, and God knows what deductions a man may draw from thence, though he had no vanity to assist him. I ever thought it a mighty oversight in Courts to let the *honnête homme*, the *homme d'esprit*, and the *homme de bien* gain ground among them, because those qualities will be sure to predominate over business and greatness, as they now do with your Lordship, who against all forms is pleased to remember a useless man at so great a distance, where it would be pardonable for his idlest friends, and of his own level to forget him.²

I join with your Lordship in one compliment, because it is grounded on so true a knowledge of the taste of this country, where I can assure you, and I call Mr. Addison for my witness, I pass as undistinguished, in every point that is merit with your Lordship, as any man in it. But then I do them impartial justice; for except the Bishop of Clogher, and perhaps one or two more, my opinion is extremely uniform of the whole kingdom.³ However I retire into myself with great satisfaction, and remembering I have had the honour to converse with your Lordship, I say as Horace did when he meant your predecessor, *cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque invidia*. Yet for all this, if I had a mind to be malicious, I could make a vanity at your Lordship's expense, by letting people here know that I have some share in your esteem. For I must inform you to your great mortification, that your Lordship is universally admired by this tasteless people. But not to

¹ *Supra*, p. 165.

² Sir Henry Craik thinks ("Life," i, 235) that in both Swift's letters to Halifax there is a forced tone of compliment, as if the application were made under a strain.

³ If the inhabitants of Ireland then were to be judged by Swift's friends that country was indeed at a low level intellectually. Amongst Swift's Irish intimates at that time, Bishop Ashe was the only one of more than average attainments. He is said by Dunton, in his "Dublin Scuffle," to have been noted for knowledge of most sciences as well as of tongues, and contributed many papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society as well as to those of a Philosophical Society that then existed in Dublin (British Museum, Add. MSS. 4811). At the age of thirty-five he had become Provost of Trinity College, and three years later was raised to the episcopal bench and appointed a Privy Councillor—an early promotion for which he is said to have been fitted by hard study and foreign travel rather than by natural ability.

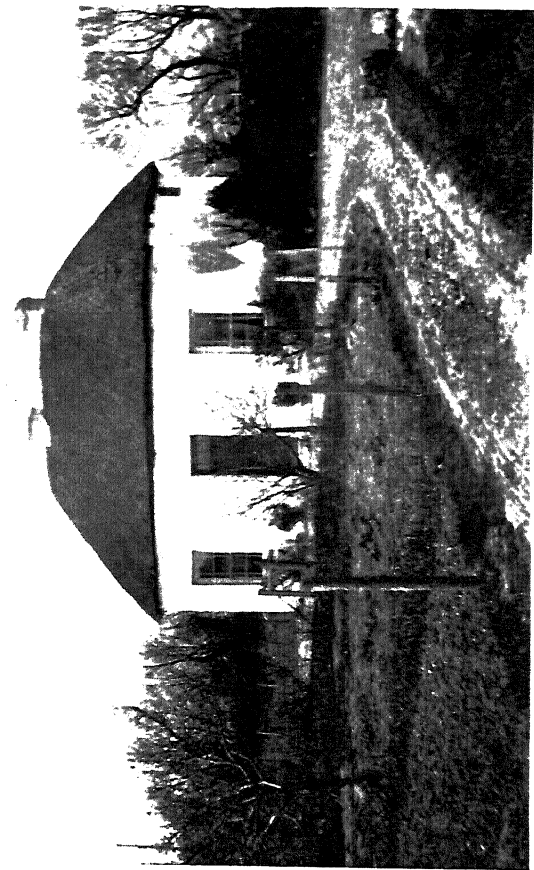
humble you too much, I find it is for no other reason, than that for which women are so fond of those they call the wits, merely for their reputation. They have heard wonderful things of your Lordship, and they presently imagine you to possess those qualities they most esteem in themselves, as the asses did when they discoursed about Socrates. For if your Lordship were here in disguise, perhaps it would be just as if you sent your pictures and statues to a country fair; where one would offer half a crown for a piece of Titian to stick on a signpost; another a shilling for a Grecian statue to fright away the crows; which thought I have a mind to make into a fable and put it on Mr. Addison for an old one, in revenge for his putting that of Socrates and the asses upon me, because it escaped his reading.

Can your Lordship pardon so tedious a letter in Parliament time? Put it under your couch, I advise you my Lord, as I remember you use to do the dull poems and pamphlets that come out, till the end of the sessions. Otherwise I shall be tempted to laugh with pride when I consider my own power. How I was able at this distance to put a stop to the whole course of public business; how I deferred some new scheme for supplying the war in all these exigencies without burdening the subject; how I suspended some law wherein the welfare of ten millions was concerned; and how I withheld the peace of Europe for four minutes together.

Yet all these are trifles in comparison of having such a solicitor as your Lordship of which I will make this use, that if you think this gentle winter will not carry off Dr. South¹ or that his reversion is not to be compassed, your Lordship would please to use your credit that as my Lord Somers thought of me last year for the bishopric of Waterford, so my Lord President may now think on me, for that of Cork,² if the incumbent dies of the spotted fever

¹ *Supra*, p. 157.

² As Forster observes ("Life," p. 261), in those words there is a gentle hint that as Lord President and as a Minister out of office Somers might not take the same view as to Swift's elevation to the episcopal bench. The occupant of the see of Cork, who is here alluded to, Dive Downes, the author of a much-prized account of his diocese and the grandfather of Lord Downes, an illustrious Irish lawyer, died in Dublin on the day this letter was written.



SWIFT'S HOUSE, KILROOT

From a photograph by Mr. Francis Wellesley Dolbin, M.A. Camb.

he is now under, and then I shall be sure of the honour to pass some winters at your Lordship's levee, though not with equal satisfaction as in the former case. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, most obliged, and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

LXXIII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

[*December, 1709.*¹]

MY LORD,

IT is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasions of congratulating with your Lordship, and condoling with the public, upon your Lordship's leaving the Admiralty;² and I thought I could never choose a better time, than when I am in the country with my Lord Bishop of Clogher, and his brother the Doctor;³ for we pretend to a triumvirate of as humble servants and true admirers of your Lordship, as any you have in both islands. You may call them a triumvirate; for, if you please to try-um, they will vie with the best, and are of the first rate, though they are not men-of-war, but men of the Church. To say the truth, it was a pity your Lordship should be confined to the Fleet, when you are not in debt. Though your Lordship is cast away, you are not sunk; nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your Lordship's depth. Dr. Ashe says, it

¹ As has been mentioned (*supra*, p. 171, n. 1), Swift set out on 18 November from Laracor to pay a visit to Bishop Ashe at his episcopal residence, which was situated at Clogher in the county of Tyrone. He arrived there four days later, and remained the Bishop's guest until 19 December, when he returned to Laracor. It is evident from the contents that this letter was written by Swift while on this visit. In connection with his journey to Clogher it is curious to note that portion of the journey from Virginia to Cavan, a distance of some fifteen miles, was performed on a Sunday. At both of those places Swift stayed at an inn.

² Lord Orford was appointed on 8 November as Lord High Admiral in Lord Pembroke's room (*supra*, p. 127, n. 1).

³ In a notice of Bishop Ashe's brother, Dr. Dillon Ashe, reference has been already made to his fondness for puns (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2) and there has also been allusion to Lord Pembroke's encouragement of that practice (*supra*, p. 70, n. 2). See further in Appendix II.

is but justice that your Lordship, who is a man of letters, should be placed upon the post office; and my Lord Bishop adds, that he hopes to see your Lordship tossed from that post to be a pillar of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of postscript. I am, my Lord, etc.,
 JON. SWIFT.

LXXIV. [*Original*.¹]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

St. James's Place, *April* 11, 1710.

SIR,

I HAVE run so much in debt with you, that I do not know how to excuse myself, and therefore shall throw myself wholly upon your good nature; and promise if you will pardon what is past, to be more punctual with you for the future. I hope to have the happiness of waiting on you very suddenly at Dublin, and do not at all regret the leaving of England, whilst I am going to a place, where I shall have the satisfaction and honour of Dr. Swift's conversation. I shall not trouble you with any occurrences here, because I hope to have the pleasure of talking over all affairs with you very suddenly. We hope to be at Holyhead by the 30th instant.² Lady Wharton stays in England.

I suppose you know, that I have obeyed yours, and the Bishop of Clogher's commands in relation to Mr. Smith;³ for I desired Mr. Dawson⁴ to acquaint you with it. I must

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² Addison arrived for the second time in Dublin with Lord Wharton (*supra*, p. 131) on 7 May.

³ *Supra*, p. 71, n. 4.

⁴ Joshua Dawson, to whom allusion is here made, held early in the eighteenth century what is now known as the office of Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle. His correspondence, private as well as public, which he carefully preserved, and which is now in the Public Record Office of Ireland, has afforded a mine of information and amusement for workers in the field of Irish history (see Froude, *op. cit.*, i, 280-3), and his name is familiar to every Dublin citizen as the designation of the street in which the Mansion House, of which he was the builder, is situated. Although never removed, he was in terror that each succeeding Chief Secretary would exercise his power to supersede him, and Edward Southwell (*supra*, p. 86, n. 3), who was a staunch friend to Dawson, invoked on his behalf Swift's influence with

beg my most humble duty to the Bishop of Clogher. I heartily long to eat a dish of bacon and beans in the best company in the world. Mr. Steele and I often drink your health. I am forced to give myself airs of a punctual correspondence with you in discourse with your friends at St. James's Coffee-house, who are always asking me questions about you when they have a mind to pay their court to me, if I may use so magnificent a phrase. Pray, dear Doctor, continue your friendship towards one who loves and esteems you, if possible, as much as you deserve. I am ever, dear Sir,

Yours entirely,

J. ADDISON.

LXXV. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

Laracor, *April* 17, 1710.²

SIR,

YOU have put me under a necessity of writing you a very scurvy letter, and in a very scurvy manner. It is the want of horses, and not of inclination, that hinders me from attending on you at the Chapter. But I would do it on foot to see you visit in your own right; but if I must be visited by proxy, by proxy I will appear. The ladies of St. Mary's delivered me your commands; but Mrs. Johnson had dropped half of them by the shaking of her horse. However, I have made a shift, by the assistance of two civilians, and a book

Addison. Writing on New Year's Day, 1709, to Dawson, Southwell says: "This day Dr. Swift dined with me; he is a great friend of Mr. Addison. I found he had a mind to talk much about the business of the office and I took care at every stanza to make you the burden of the song. I believe he and Mr. Addison will come and taste my claret, for this day and not before I have received a taste of that wine you bought for me" (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² During the first three months of this year Swift appears to have divided his time between Trim, Laracor, and Dublin. On 8 April he came, however, to Laracor for a visit that lasted until June (Forster Collection, No. 507). On the day before this letter was written Swift was joined by "the ladies of St. Mary's" (*supra*, p. 71, n. 2), who possibly occupied a cottage near Laracor to which Stella's name has been attached.

of precedents, to send you the jargon annexed, with a blank for the name and title of any Prebendary, who will have the charity to answer for me.¹ Those two words, *gravi incommodo*, are to be translated, the want of a horse.²

In a few days I expect to hear the two ladies lamenting the fleshpots of Cavan Street.³ I advise them since they have given up their title and lodgings of St. Mary's, to buy each of them a palfrey, and take a squire and seek adventures. I am here quarrelling with the frosty weather, for spoiling my poor half dozen of blossoms. *Spes anni collapsa ruit*. Whether those words be mine or Virgil's, I cannot determine. Pray, Sir, favour me so far as to present my duty to my Lord Bishop of Cork;⁴ and I wish he knew how concerned I was not to find him at home when I went to wait on him before I left the town. I am this minute very busy, being to preach to-day before an audience of at least fifteen people, most of them gentle, and all simple.

I can send you no news; only the employment of my parishioners may, for memory-sake, be reduced under these heads: Mr. Percival is ditching;⁵ Mrs. Percival in her kitchen; Mr. Wesley switching;⁶ Mrs. Wesley stitching;

¹ This letter is said to have been sent "with a proxy for Swift's appearance as Prebendary of Dunlavin (*supra*, p. 53, n. 2) at the Archbishop's visitation." The Archbishop's visitation was then a very formal function, the Dean and Canons being first visited together, and then the Canons alone, while the Archbishop asked them "whether they had anything meriting censure to allege against the Dean." But to Stearne it must have been a gratification to receive his friend Archbishop King with the stately ceremony that was prescribed.

² Shortly before his visit to Clogher (*supra*, p. 177, n. 1), Swift notes the purchase of a horse for which he paid £6 5s.

³ St. Patrick's Deanery is situated in Cavan, otherwise Kevin Street. "The fleshpots" recall Swift's lines:

"In the days of good John, if you came here to dine,
You had choice of good meat, but no choice of good wine."

⁴ Provost Peter Brown (*supra*, p. 119, n. 2) had been appointed by letters patent, dated 11 January, Bishop of Cork, and had been consecrated on 8 April.

⁵ An allusion in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 362) shows that Percival (*supra*, p. 57) was an authority on fences.

⁶ Dangan, the paternal home of the Duke of Wellington, which lay within Swift's parish and connected it with another of the most remarkable men to whom Ireland has given birth, was then the residence of Garret Wesley, who represented successively the borough of Trim and the county of Meath in the Irish Parliament. By his will Wesley, who had no son, bequeathed the mansion house of Dangan to Richard

Sir Arthur Langford riching,¹ which is a new word for heaping up riches. I know no other rhyme but bitching, and that I hope we are all past. Well, Sir, long may you live the hospitable owner of good bits, good books, and good buildings. The Bishop of Clogher would envy me for those three b's. I am,

Your most obedient humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Reverend Dr. John Stearne, Dean of St. Patrick's, at his house in Cavan Street, Dublin.

LXXVI. [*Faulkner.*]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

Dublin, June 3, 1710.²

DEAR SIR,

I AM just now come from Finglas, where I have been drinking your health, and talking of you, with one who loves and admires you better than any man in the world, except your humble servant.³ We both agree in a request,

Colley, his cousin and the Duke's grandfather, who assumed the name of Wesley, and was created Baron of Mornington. The occupation attributed here to Wesley bespeaks no great depth of character, but on another occasion Swift speaks of "the entire love" which he entertained for Wesley as a worthy man.

¹ Sir Arthur Langford, who resided in the parish of Laracor at Summerhill, now the seat of Lord Langford, a descendant of the Langfords in a female line, was a wealthy bachelor, and belonged to a Devonshire family which migrated to Antrim. There Langford imbibed the doctrines of the Presbytery, and, as will be seen from a letter to him, his establishment of a place of worship at Summerhill for the services of that Church caused much distress to Swift, who entertained apparently great regard for him. Langford had inherited a baronetcy conferred upon his father, and was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Antrim.

² As has been stated (*supra*, p. 178, n. 2), Addison had arrived in Dublin just a month before.

³ Dilly Ashe (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2), who seems to have resided constantly at his rectory. There is frequent mention in Swift's accounts (Forster Collection, No. 507) at this time of a place called Ballygall in the parish of Finglas where Thomas Ashe (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2) was then residing near his brother. Stella had stayed for the last week in the previous January at Ballygall.

that you will set out for Dublin as soon as possible.¹ To tell you truly, I find the place disagreeable, and cannot imagine why it should appear so now more than it did last year.² You know I look upon everything that is like a compliment as a breach of friendship; and therefore shall only tell you that I long to see you, without assuring you that I love your company and value your conversation more than any man's, or that I am, with the most inviolable sincerity and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most faithful, most humble, and most obedient servant,

J. ADDISON.

LXXVII. [*Original*.³]

SIR ANDREW FOUNTAINE⁴ TO SWIFT

June 27, 1710.

I NEITHER can nor will have patience any longer; and, Swift, you are a confounded son of a ——. May your half acre turn to a bog, and may your willows perish; may the worms eat your Plato,⁵ and may Parvisol⁶ break your snuff-box. What! because there is never a Bishop in England with half the wit of St. George Ashe, nor ever a Secretary

¹ The news of the death of his mother (*supra*, p. 37, n. 1), which reached Swift on 10 May at Laracor, may have induced him to linger there longer than he had originally intended ("Prose Works," xi, 387). This letter had the desired effect, and Swift arrived in Dublin two days later.

² Finglas appears to have been the favourite haunt of Swift and Addison in the previous year (Forster Collection, No. 506). Tradition in Dublin has always connected Addison's residence in Ireland with the suburb of Glasnevin, through which the road to Finglas passes; and in the Royal Botanic Gardens, which are situated in Glasnevin, there is a walk called by Addison's name. But as Mr. Herbert Wood shows in the Paper already cited (p. 156) Addison resided while in Ireland in official apartments in Dublin Castle, where Addison's room is still pointed out. Possibly, the name was given to the walk in the Gardens by Addison's friend Tickell, who, after Addison's death, resided in what is now the Keeper's house.

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 70, n. 3.

⁵ The Leicester purchase (*supra*, p. 154, n. 2).

⁶ *Supra*, p. 118, n. 3.

of State with a quarter of Addison's good sense; therefore you cannot write to those that love you, as well as any Clogher or Addison of them all.¹ You have lost your reputation here, and that of your bastard the "Tatler" is going too; and there is no way left to recover either, but your writing. Well! it is no matter; I will e'en leave London; Kingsmill is dead, and you do not write to me. Adieu.

Addressed—To the Rev. Dr. Swift at Mr. Curry's over against the Ram in Capel Street, Dublin, Ireland.²

LXXVIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO BENJAMIN TOOKE

Dublin, *June 29, 1710.*

SIR,³

I WAS in the country when I received your letter with the Apology enclosed in it; and I had neither health nor humour to finish that business. But the blame rests with you, that if you thought it time, you did not print it when you had it.⁴ I have just now your last, with the Complete

¹ For the first three months after Swift left London Fountaine and Swift carried on a regular correspondence. Then Swift notes the receipt of several letters from his friend, but does not enter the despatch of any reply (see Appendix III). There is no means of ascertaining what letters passed between them from 1 November previous to the date of this letter, as unfortunately a full list of letters for that period is not extant.

² Following his custom in earlier years (*supra*, p. 53, n. 2), Swift engaged lodgings in Dublin on his return from London, and selected them near those of Stella and her companion (*supra*, p. 71, n. 2). Capel Street, which, as its name denotes, dates from the viceroyalty of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, lies on the north side of the river Liffey.

³ *Supra*, p. 167, n. 2.

⁴ The fifth edition of "A Tale of a Tub," with which "The Battle of the Books" and "A Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" were issued, made its appearance in the year 1710. To the volume there was then prefixed for the first time the Apology to which Swift alludes, as well as an Analytical Table. The Apology bears the date 3 June, 1709, when Swift was at Leicester, but had been at any rate contemplated before that time, as its title appears amongst the "Subjects for a Volume" (*supra*, p. 111, n. 4). From Leicester Swift sent several letters to Tooke. In one of those letters

Key.¹ I believe it is so perfect a Grub-street piece, it will be forgotten in a week. But it is strange that there can be no satisfaction against a bookseller for publishing names in so bold a manner. I wish some lawyer could advise you how I might have satisfaction; for at this rate, there is no book, however vile, which may not be fastened on me.

I cannot but think that little parson cousin of mine is at the bottom of this: for, having lent him a copy of some part of, etc. and he showing it, after I was gone for Ireland, and the thing abroad, he affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in it.² If he should happen to be in town, and you light on him, I think you ought to tell him gravely, that, if he be the author, he should set his name to the, etc. and rally him a little upon it: and tell him, if he can explain some things, you will, if he pleases, set his name to the next edition. I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce could go.³

Well; I will send you the thing, now I am in town, as soon as possible. But I dare say, you have neither printed the rest, nor finished the cuts;⁴ only are glad to lay the fault on me. I shall, at the end, take a little contemptible notice of the thing you sent me; and I dare say it will do

a copy of the Apology was probably enclosed, and Tooke had apparently now sent the copy back to Swift with a recommendation for revision and immediate publication. Although the fifth edition of the "Tale" is stated, as the previous editions had been, to have been "printed for John Nutt near Stationers' Hall," this letter and the succeeding one show that the arrangements for its publication were made by Tooke, whose name was possibly omitted from the title-page from fear that owing to his connection with Swift his imprint might identify Swift with the work.

¹ The "Complete Key" was the pamphlet issued by Edmund Curll ("Prose Works," xii, 199), in which it was stated that the volume known as "A Tale of a Tub" was the joint work of Swift and his cousin Thomas (*supra*, p. 59, n. 1). The authorship of the "Tale" was attributed to the latter, the less important parts of the volume to the former.

² How little pretension Thomas Swift had to claim part in the authorship of the "Tale" may be judged from an effusion of his which will be found in Appendix IV.

³ The feeble attempt which Swift makes throughout this letter to throw mystery on the authorship of the "Tale" is amusing. There had long been no doubt in literary circles on the question. So early as 22 August, 1705, it is noted by Hearne ("Collections," i, 32) that the "Tale" was Swift's work.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 185, n. 5.

you more good than hurt.¹ If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the Miscellanies? I would not have you think of Steele for a publisher: he is too busy.² I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up. I have thoughts of some other work one of these years: and I hope to see you ere it be long; since it is likely to be a new world, and since I have the merit of suffering by not complying with the old.³

Yours, etc.
JON. SWIFT.

LXXIX. [*Sheridan.*]

BENJAMIN TOOKE TO SWIFT

London, *July* 10, 1710.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I have sent the Key, and think it would be much more proper to add the notes at the bottom of the respective pages they refer to, than printing them at the end by themselves.⁴ As to the cuts, Sir Andrew Fountaine has had them from the time they were designed, with an intent of altering them. But he is now gone into Norfolk,⁵

¹ See the postscript to the Apology ("Prose Works," i, 25).

² *Supra*, p. 167.

³ The demoralization of the Whigs, which had been gradually increasing since the termination of Sacheverell's impeachment, had received a great impetus in that month by the dismissal of Sunderland (*supra*, p. 125, n. 1) from the position of Secretary of State. The news of that statesman's removal had probably reached Swift before writing this letter. Swift's attacks on the Whig administration in the pamphlets on the Test which he had published in London, had been followed up since his coming to Ireland by the publication of "A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland upon the choosing a new Speaker there." It is dated 1708 in the "Prose Works" (vii, 1), but must have been written, as Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 247), subsequent to December, 1709, when the Speakership became vacant on Brodrick's (*supra*, p. 83, n. 4) appointment as Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

⁴ From a passage lower down it is evident that Tooke was of opinion that the Key, or Analytical Table, as it was called eventually, should be divided and appear in the form of footnotes.

⁵ The drawings for the illustrations were found by Forster at Fountaine's seat (*supra*, p. 153, n. 1). There are photographs of them in the Forster Collection. Some of them have never been published (Forster's "Life," p. 258).

and will not return till Michaelmas; so that, I think, they must be laid aside; for, unless they are very well done, it is better they were quite let alone. As to the Apology, I was not so careless but that I took a copy of it before I sent it to you; so that I could have printed it easily, but that you sent me word not to go on till you had altered something in it. As to that cousin of yours which you speak of, I neither know him nor ever heard of him till the Key mentioned him.

It was very indifferent to me which I proceeded on first, the Tale or the Miscellanies; but, when you went away, you told me there were three or four things should be sent over out of Ireland, which you had not here;¹ which, I think, is a very reasonable excuse for myself in all these affairs. What I beg of you at present is, that you would return the Apology and this Key, with directions as to the placing it: although I am entirely of opinion to put it at the bottom of each page; yet shall submit. If this be not done soon I cannot promise but some rascal or other will do it for us both; since you see the liberty that is already taken. I think too much time has already been lost in the Miscellanies; therefore hasten that; and whichever is in the most forwardness, I would begin on first. All here depend on an entire alteration. I am, etc.

LXXX. [*Original*.²]

JOSEPH ADDISON TO SWIFT

Dublin Castle, *July* 23, 1710.

DEAR SIR,

ABOUT two days ago I received the enclosed, that is sealed up, and yesterday that of my friend Steele, which requiring a speedy answer, I have sent you express. In the meantime I have let him know that you are out of town, and that he may expect your answer by the next post. I fancy he had my Lord Halifax's authority for

¹ Several of the "Subjects for a Volume" Swift found it impossible to recover. A "Letter to the Bishop of Killala," Swift's friend Lloyd (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2), was especially sought, but without success (Fors-ter's "Life," p. 258).

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

writing.¹ I hope this will bring you to town.² For your amusement by the way, I have sent you some of this day's news: to which I must add, that Doctors Bysse and Robinson are likely to be the Bishops of Bristol and St. David's:³ that our politicians are startled at the breaking off the negotiations, and fall of stocks; insomuch that it is thought they will not venture at dissolving the Parliament in such a crisis. I am ever, dear Sir,

Yours entirely,
J. ADDISON.

Mr. Steele desires me to seal yours before I deliver it, but this you will excuse in one, who wishes you as well as he, or anybody living can do.

LXXXI. [*Scott*.⁴]

SWIFT TO JOSEPH ADDISON

Dublin, *August 22, 1710.*

SIR,

I LOOKED long enough at the wind to set you safe at the other side. . . .⁵ I believe you had the displeasure of much ill news almost as soon as you landed. Even the moderate Tories here are in pain at these revolutions,⁶ being what will certainly affect the Duke of Marlborough, and, consequently, the success of the war. My Lord Lieutenant

¹ These letters Forster thought ("Life," p. 271) were some of those that gave ground for Swift's remark that at that time he was a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of.

² In his account-book Swift notes that he was from the 17th to the 22nd of that month at Laracor. On the 25th, when he visited Finglas, he was doubtless back again in Dublin (Forster Collection, No. 507).

³ These bishoprics had been vacant from the preceding February. In October Bisse was appointed to St. David's, and Robinson, the well-known ecclesiastical diplomatist, to Bristol.

⁴ This letter was communicated to Sir Walter Scott by Major Tickell, a descendant of Addison's friend and biographer.

⁵ Several lines are said to have been more or less effaced here in the original; the only words decipherable being: "and then . . . our conduct, very unwilling for fear you . . . up to a post horse, and hazard your limbs to be made a member."

⁶ *Supra*, p. 185, n. 3.

asked me yesterday when I intended for England. I said I had no business there now, since I suppose in a little time I should not have one friend left that had any credit; and his Excellency was of my opinion.¹

I never once began your [task] since you [left this] being perpetually prevented by all the company I kept, and especially Captain Pratt,² to whom I am almost a domestic upon your account. I am convinced, that whatever government come over, you will find all marks of kindness from any Parliament here, with respect to your employment;³ the Tories contending with the Whigs

¹ It is difficult to believe that Swift, when writing these lines, can have been contemplating, much less writing, as its date implies ("Prose Works," v, 7), his fierce philippic on Lord Wharton. The trend of the whole letter shows that the Whig leaders were the only persons from whom Swift had at the moment the slightest expectation of preferment, and this passage sustains the opinion which I have already expressed (*supra*, p. 168, n. 3) that Swift's relations with Wharton while Lord Lieutenant were not exactly those which he has elsewhere represented them to have been. Swift wishes us to believe that it was only upon "the news of great changes" that Wharton began to take any notice of him, but the reference in the previous letter leaves room for doubt as to his accuracy, as does also a statement hitherto unnoticed ("Memoirs of Thomas, late Marquess of Wharton," Lond., 1715, p. 64), from which it appears that Swift acted during Wharton's viceroyalty as one of the honorary chaplains appointed then, as in the present day, by the Lord Lieutenant to preach in turn before him.

² Captain John Pratt, to whom reference is here made, was Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and Constable of Dublin Castle. He was a younger brother of Benjamin Pratt (*supra*, p. 85, n. 1) who had been appointed Provost of Trinity College on Peter Browne's elevation to the bishopric of Cork (*supra*, p. 180, n. 4). In the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*) there is mention of Pratt and frequently of his wife in company with Henry, third Lord Shelburne and that nobleman's sister Lady Kerry. With the latter, Mrs. Pratt, a daughter of Sir John Brookes, was connected through the marriage of her sister to Lord Kerry's brother.

³ The "employment" alluded to here, as Mr. Herbert Wood points out (*op. cit.*, p. 166), was not the office of Chief Secretary, but that of "Keeper of her Majesty's Records" in Ireland, which had been granted to Addison with a salary of £400 a year. Although, as one of the present custodians of the public records, Mr. Wood is scrupulous in avoiding a comparison between the vigilance of to-day and the neglect of the past with respect to documents of no less importance to the individual than to the State, it is impossible from the facts mentioned to acquit Addison of negligence in the discharge of his duties. Until an adequate salary had been secured for him the importance of those duties was justly urged, but from the day the salary

which should speak best of you. Mr. Pratt says, he has received such marks of your sincerity and friendship, as he never can forget; and, in short, if you will come over again, when you are at leisure, we will raise an army, and make you King of Ireland. Can you think so meanly of a kingdom, as not to be pleased that every creature in it, who hath one grain of worth, has a veneration for you? I know there is nothing in this to make you add any value to yourself; but it ought to put you on valuing them, and to convince you that they are not an undistinguishing people.

On Thursday, the Bishop of Clogher, the two Pratts, and I, are to be as happy as Ireland will give us leave; we are to dine with Mr. Paget at the Castle, and drink your health.¹ The Bishop showed me the first volume of the small edition of the "Tatler," where there is a very handsome compliment to me;² but I can never pardon the printing the news of every "Tatler"—I think he might as well have printed the advertisements. I knew it was a bookseller's piece of craft, to increase the bulk and price of what he was sure would sell; but I utterly disapprove it.

I beg you would freely tell me whether it will be of any account for me to come to England. I would not trouble you for advice, if I knew where else to ask it. We expect every day to hear of my Lord President's removal;³ if he were to continue, I might, perhaps, hope for some of his good offices. You ordered me to give you a memorial of what I had in my thoughts. There were two things,

was granted, until his resignation two days before his death, no attention, or even thought, appears to have been given by Addison to the care of documents which, to use his own words, were of the greatest consequence to the public.

¹ Mr. Paget acted as Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod during a session of the Irish Parliament held that year, this being one of the few occasions on which the Irish Parliament was called together at that period in consecutive years (*supra*, p. 97, n. 2). Notwithstanding his political views being different from those of Wharton, it seems probable that the friend of Swift, Bishop Ashe, and Provost Pratt, was the eldest son of Henry Paget, afterwards first Earl of Uxbridge, Thomas Catesby Paget, who is known as the author of several pieces in prose and verse, and was thought for a time to be the author of Pope's "Essay on Man."

² *Supra*, p. 161, n. 1.

³ Godolphin had been dismissed a fortnight before; adverse winds had doubtless prevented the news reaching Ireland.

Dr. So[u]th's prebend and sinecure,¹ or the place of Historiographer. But if things go on in the train they are now, I shall only beg you, when there is an account to be depended on for a new government here, that you will give me early notice to procure an addition to my fortunes. And with saying so, I take my leave of troubling you with myself.

I do not desire to hear from you till you are out of [the] hurry at Malmesbury.² I long till you have some good account of your Indian affairs, so as to make public business depend upon you, and not you upon that.³ I read your character in Mrs. Manley's noble Memoirs of Europe.⁴ It seems to me, as if she had about two thousand epithets and fine words packed up in a bag; and that she pulled them out by handfuls, and strewed them on her paper, where about once in five hundred times they happen to be right.

My Lord Lieutenant, we reckon, will leave us in a fortnight. I led him, by a question, to tell me he did not expect to continue in the Government, nor would, when all his friends were out. Pray take some occasion to let my [Lord] Halifax know the sense I have of the favour he intended me.⁵ I am with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

¹ *Supra*, p. 157.

² In addition to his seat in the Irish Parliament, in which he represented the borough of Cavan, Addison had one in the British Parliament, in which he represented successively the boroughs of Lostwithiel and Malmesbury. Apparently his hurried departure from Ireland at a time when the Irish Parliament was in session was due to some expectation of opposition at the General Election, which was then daily expected in England.

³ The reference is to the estate, valued at £14,000, to which Addison had expectation of succeeding on the death of his brother, an East Indian merchant.

⁴ One of the contributions to the "Tatler" attributed to Swift, is a criticism on Mrs. Manley's work ("Prose Works," ix, 16). Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 255) that the style is almost certainly not that of Swift, and other reasons have been given by me for the opinion that Swift was not the author (*supra*, p. 166, n. 7). This passage seems confirmation of that view, so far as the number referring to Mrs. Manley is concerned.

⁵ This "dry" acknowledgement has reference to whatever proposal was made by Halifax in the letter sent to Swift a few weeks before (*supra*, p. 186).

LXXXII. [*Original.*']PRIMATE MARSH AND OTHERS TO THE BISHOPS OF
OSSORY AND KILLALOEDublin, *August 31, 1710.*OUR VERY GOOD LORDS,¹

WHEREAS several applications have been made to her Majesty about the first fruits and twentieth parts, payable to her Majesty by the clergy of this kingdom, beseeching her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to extend her bounty to the clergy here, in such manner as the Convocation have humbly laid before her Majesty, or as her Majesty shall in her goodness and wisdom think fit; and the said applications lie still before her Majesty; and we do hope, from her royal bounty, a favourable answer:—

We do therefore entreat your Lordships to take on you the solicitation of that affair, and to use such proper methods and applications, as you in your prudence shall judge most likely to be effectual. We have likewise desired the bearer, Doctor Swift, to concern himself with you, being persuaded of his diligence and good affection; and we desire, that if your Lordships' occasions require your leaving London before you have brought the business to effect, that you would leave with him the papers

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² The arrival in Ireland of the news of Godolphin's removal (*supra*, p. 189, n. 3) accelerated Wharton's departure. On the 28th the Irish Parliament was prorogued, and on the date of this letter Convocation was similarly adjourned. At their meeting that day the Bishops decided to make an attempt to induce the new Ministry to obtain a remission of the first fruits, and to send again Swift as an ambassador. As his credentials this letter was written to two of their brethren then in London. That their decision was on a suggestion from Swift, in order to provide a reason other than a personal one for his presence in London, cannot be maintained in face of a subsequent letter to Archbishop King (*infra*, p. 216), and of repeated declarations to the contrary in the *Journal to Stella* ("Prose Works," ii, 4, 12, 17, 36, 49). There are also indications that the idea of his going to London was a sudden one, as he only caught at the last moment the yacht in which he crossed that day with Wharton ("Prose Works," ii, 3)—a further proof that they did not live at such a distance as he has stated.

relating to it with your directions for his management in it, if you think it advisable so to do. We are,

Your Lordships' most humble servants and brethren,
 NARCISSUS ARMAGH.
 WILL. DUBLINIENSIS.
 W. CASSEL.
 W. MEATH.
 W. KILDARE.
 WM. KILLALA.¹

Addressed—To the Right Rev. Fathers in God, John, Lord Bishop of Ossory, and Thomas, Lord Bishop of Killaloe.²

Endorsed by Swift—Commission from the Bishops of Ireland to me about the First Fruits August 31 1710.

LXXXIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *September 9, 1710.*

MY LORD,

I ARRIVED here on Thursday last,³ and inquiring for the two Bishops, I found my Lord of Ossory was gone

¹ Although the members of the Irish episcopal bench then numbered twenty-two, the signatories to this letter were the only prelates that attended for the adjournment of Convocation. In the *Journal to Stella*, Swift says he took it ill that Bishop Ashe, who was enjoying himself at a seaside village which has given place to the populous township of Kingstown, was not one of those who signed his commission. Of these prelates Archbishops King and Marsh (*supra*, p. 138, n. 3), the Bishop of Meath, William Moreton, who had been translated from Kildare (*supra*, p. 48, n. 2), the Bishop of Kildare, Welbore Ellis (*supra*, p. 83, n. 1), and the Bishop of Killala, William Lloyd (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2) have been already noticed. The Archbishop of Cashel was William Palliser, now remembered as a noble benefactor of the University of Dublin, but in his day not one of the most prominent members of his order (see "*Prose Works*," ii, 64).

² The Bishop of Ossory, John Hartstonge, was the younger son of a Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland on whom a baronetcy was conferred by Charles II. He spent much time in London, evidently with an eye to translation to the English episcopal bench (see "*Prose Works*," ii, *passim*). The Bishop of Killaloe was Thomas Lindsay, afterwards Primate of Ireland, of whom more will be seen later on.

³ Swift landed at Parkgate (*supra*, p. 61, n. 3) on Friday, 1 Sept-

some time ago, and the Bishop of Killaloe I could not hear of till next day, when I found he was set out early in the morning for Ireland; so that the letter to their Lordships is so far to no purpose.¹ I cannot yet learn whether they left any papers behind them; neither shall I much inquire; and to say the truth, I was less solicitous to ask after the Bishop of Killaloe, when I heard the other was gone.

They tell me all affairs in the Treasury are governed by Mr. Harley,² and that he is the person usually applied to; only of late, my Lord Poulett, upon what people have talked to him that way, hath exerted himself a little, and endeavours to be as significant as he can. I have opportunities enough of getting some interest with his Lordship, who hath formerly done me good offices, although I have no personal acquaintance with him.³ After which I will apply to Mr. Harley, who formerly made some advances towards me; and, unless he be altered, will, I believe, think himself in the right to use me well: but I am inclined to suspend any particular solicitations until I hear from your Grace, and am informed what progress the two Bishops have made; and until I receive their papers, with what other directions your Grace will desire to send me.

Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties, by one as a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of; and by the other as one discontented

ember, and came to Chester the next day. As he tells us in the *Journal to Stella* ("Prose Works," ii, 5) his journey from Chester to London in company with Lord Mountjoy was accomplished in the following five days—being an average progress of thirty-six miles a day—with the result that Swift was weary the first, almost dead the second, tolerable the third, and well enough the rest.

¹ *Supra*, p. 191.

² Harley had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer the day after Godolphin was dismissed.

³ John, first Earl of Poulett, who was then nominally first Lord of the Treasury, is said by Macky ("Prose Works," x, 278) to have been "one of the hopefulest gentlemen in England"—a character which Swift endorses; but, perhaps in some degree owing to a want of strength in his convictions, his career proved an undistinguished one. Swift's friend Anthony Henley (*supra*, p. 112, n. 2) and Lord Poulett were married to sisters—the daughters and co-heiresses of Peregrine Bertie, a younger son of Montagu, second Earl of Lindsey—and it was in this connection, notwithstanding political differences, that Swift's interest with Lord Poulett lay.

with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their designs, and therefore ready to approve present things. I was to visit my Lord Godolphin, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life; altogether short, dry, and morose, not worth repeating to your Grace, until I have the honour to see you. I complained of it to some of his friends, as having, as I thought, for some reasons, deserved much the contrary from his Lordship: they said, to excuse him, that he was overrun with spleen and peevishness upon the present posture of affairs, and used nobody better.¹ It may be new to your Grace to tell you some circumstances of his removal. A letter was sent him by the Groom of the Queen's Stables, to desire he would break his staff, which would be the easiest way, both to her Majesty and him.² Mr. Smith, Chancellor of the Exchequer,³ happening to come in a little after, my Lord broke his staff, and flung the pieces in the chimney, desiring Mr. Smith to be witness that he had obeyed the Queen's commands; and sent him to the Queen with a letter and a message, which Mr. Smith delivered, and at the same time surrendered up his own office.

The Parliament is certainly to be dissolved, although the day is yet uncertain. The remainder of Whigs in employment are resolved not to resign; and a certain Lord told

¹ As Godolphin was probably aware that Swift was the author of the "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," it is hardly surprising that his manner to Swift was not friendly. But it may be inferred, I think, from Swift's words that Swift had given more support with his pen to Godolphin's Ministry than is now known, and that these writings were expected by Swift to be in Godolphin's mind. Godolphin's "coldness," which touched Swift's most vulnerable points, ambition and pride, led to the first overt act in what some have called Swift's political apostasy. He went away "almost vowing revenge," and a conversation with Lord Radnor the next day completed the mischief, and before he went to bed, albeit that day was a Sunday, his lampoon on Godolphin entitled "The Virtues of Sid Hamet, the Magician's Rod" had taken shape in his mind ("Prose Works," ii, 5, 7, 15).

² There is disagreement as to the identity of the messenger, but as Wyon says (*op. cit.*, ii, 223) Swift is a well-informed authority. Forster reads ("Life," p. 316) in the verses on Godolphin, an accusation of ungraciousness in breaking the staff, and forgetting this letter, says that at the time the fact that it was done at the Queen's wish was unknown.

³ John Smith, who had been, previous to his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Speaker of the House of Commons, was an especial friend of Godolphin.

me, he had been the giver of that advice, and did, in my presence, prevail on an acquaintance of mine in a great post to promise the same thing. Only Mr. Boyle, they say, is resolved to give up.¹ Everybody counts infallibly upon a general removal. The Duke of Queensberry, it is said, will be Steward;² my Lord Cholmondeley is gone over to the new interest, with great indignation of his friends.³ It is affirmed by the Tories, that the great motive of these changes was the absolute necessity of a peace, which they thought the Whigs were for perpetually delaying. Elections are now managing with greater violence and expense, and more competitors than ever was known; yet the town is much fuller of people than usual at this time of the year, waiting till they see some issue of the matter. The Duke of Ormond is much talked of for Ireland, and I imagine he believed something of it himself.⁴ Mr. Harley is looked upon as first Minister, and not my Lord Shrewsbury,⁵ and his Grace helps on the opinion, whether out of policy or truth; upon all occasions professing to stay until he speaks with Mr. Harley. The Queen continues at Kensington indisposed with the gout, of which she has frequent returns.

I deferred writing to your Grace as late as I could this post, until I might have something to entertain you: but there is such a universal uncertainty among those who pretend to know most, that little can be depended on.

¹ Henry Boyle, afterwards created Lord Carleton, who was one of the Secretaries of State in Godolphin's Ministry, was superseded on the 21st of that month by the appointment of St. John—a step at which Swift was “almost shocked,” although not caring if Boyle and his companions in misfortune “were all hanged” (“Prose Works,” ii, 12).

² James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry, who died in the following year, was Secretary for Scotland in Harley's Ministry.

³ Hugh, first Earl of Cholmondeley, to whom Swift does not allow the possession of a single good quality (“Prose Works,” ii, *passim*), had been Treasurer of the Household in Godolphin's Ministry, and continued to hold that office until 1713, when he was dismissed for a speech on the Utrecht Treaty.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 50, n. 3.

⁵ The appointment in the previous April of the Duke of Shrewsbury in room of the Marquis of Kent as Lord Chamberlain by Queen Anne, without the knowledge of her Ministers, was an early presage of the fate that attended Godolphin's Ministry. By continuing to hold office after this rebuff, it was said at the time that the enemies of passive obedience had become passive themselves.

However, it may be some amusement to tell you the sentiments of people here, and, as bad as they are, I am sure they are the best that are stirring; for it is thought there are not three people in England entirely in the secret; nor is it sure, whether even those three are agreed in what they intend to do. I am, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I have not time to read this, and correct the literal mistakes. I was to wait on the Duke of Ormond to set him right in the story of the College, about the statue,¹ etc.

LXXXIV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *September 16, 1710.*

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours by the last packets, of September the 9th; and because you have missed the two Bishops, I send you, with this, the papers relating to the first fruits and twentieth parts. I send them in two bundles, being too big for one letter. The Bishops, so far as I can learn from the Bishop of Ossory, have not made any step since I left London. I will endeavour to get you a letter from the Bishops to solicit that affair. In the meantime, open the letter to the two Bishops, and make use of it as occasion shall serve. The scheme I had laid for them is crossed by my Lord Treasurer's being out; though, perhaps, that would not have done; but her Majesty's promise I depended on, and I had engaged the Archbishop of York² in it. When he comes to London, I will give you a letter to him. I can likewise find means, I believe, to possess my Lord Shrews-

¹ This reference is to an outrage committed in the previous June on the statue of William III in Dublin by three college students, who removed the truncheon from the King's hand and plastered his face with mud. Owing to the strong feeling at the time, "that barbarous fact" was viewed as a very serious offence, and as confirmation of the report that Trinity College was a hotbed of Jacobitism (*supra*, p. 106, n. 1). As Chancellor (*supra*, p. 89, n. 5) Ormond was interested.

² *Supra*, p. 152, n. 2.

bury and Mr. Harley,¹ with the reasonableness of the affair. I am not courtier enough to know the properness of the thing; but I had once an imagination to attempt her Majesty herself by a letter, modestly putting her in mind of the matter; and no time so proper, as when there is no Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which perhaps may be soon; but this needs advice.

There are great men here as much out of humour, as you describe your great *visitee*² to have been; nor does the good news from Spain³ clear them. I believe, however, they are glad at it, though another would have served their occasions as well. I do not apprehend any other secret in all this affair, but to get Whigs out of all places of profit and trust, and to get others in them. As for peace, it must be on no other terms than the preliminaries; and you will find a Tory Parliament will give money as freely, and be as eager to prosecute the war, as the Whigs were, or they are not the wise men I take them to be. If they do so, and take care to have the money well disposed of when given, they will break the King of France's heart, and the Whigs together, and please the nation.

There is an ugly accident, that happens here in relation to our twentieth parts and first fruits: at mid-summer, 1709, there was ready money in the Treasury, and good solvent debts to the Queen to the value of seventy thousand pounds. Now I am told, by the last week's abstract, there is only two hundred and twenty-three pounds in the Treasury, and the army unpaid, at least uncleared for a year; and all others, except pensioners, in the same condition. Now the great motive to prevail with her Majesty to give the clergy the bounty petitioned for, was the clearness of the revenue here; but if that be anticipated, perhaps it may make an objection. I will add no more, but my prayers for you. I am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

¹ *Supra*, p. 195.

² *Supra*, p. 194.

³ The victory of Zaragosa, which in the opinion of Marlborough was so decisive that it must have resulted in peace had not the French been inspired by the political divisions in England.

LXXXV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

London, *September 26, 1710.*

SIR,

ONE would think this an admirable place from whence to fill a letter, yet when I come to examine particulars, I find they either consist of news, which you hear as soon by the public papers, or of persons and things, to which you are a stranger, and are the wiser and happier for being so. Here have been great men every day resigning their places: a resignation as sincere as that of a usurer on his death-bed. Here are some, that fear being whipped because they have broken their rod; and some that may be called to an account, because they could not cast one up. There are now not much above a dozen great employments to be disposed of, which, according to our computation, may be done in as many days. Patrick¹ assures me his acquaintance are all very well satisfied with these changes, which I take for no ill symptom, and it is certain the Queen has never appeared so easy or so cheerful. I found my Lord Godolphin the worst dissembler of any of them that I have talked to; and no wonder, since his loss and danger are greater, beside the addition of age and complexion.² My Lord Lieutenant is gone to the country, to bustle about elections.³ He is not yet removed; because they say it will

¹ Swift's servant—a typical Irishman—whose virtues and peccadillos are related in the *Journal to Stella*. To these Swift was no stranger before taking Patrick to London, as he notes that he came to him for the second time on 9 February, 1709/10 (Forster's "Life," p. 297).

² In view of the fact that Swift had been making progress, although only slow ("Prose Works," ii, 15), with his lampoon on Godolphin (*supra*, p. 194, n. 1), the studied moderation of this passage, as well as of the whole letter, is remarkable. But his confidences to Stella show that while he had determined to break with the Whigs, he scarcely felt, as Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 257), that he could find a place among the Tories. His position was to be one of political independence in which he was to look for preferment to personal friendship (see "Prose Works," ii, 12, 17). Godolphin, who died in 1712, was then eighty.

³ Writing a fortnight before to Stella, Swift had said that Lord Wharton was "working like a horse for elections" ("Prose Works," ii, 8). That statesman's electioneering activities were unlimited, and

be requisite to supersede him by a successor, which the Queen has not fixed on; nor is it agreed whether the Duke of Shrewsbury or Ormond stand fairest.¹

I speak only for this morning, because reports usually change every twenty-four hours. Meantime the pamphlets and half sheets grow so upon our hands, it will very well employ a man every day from morning till night to read them, and so out of perfect despair I never read any at all. The Whigs, like an army beat three quarters out of the field, begin to skirmish but faintly; and deserters daily come over. We are amazed to find our mistakes, and how it was possible to see so much merit where there was none, and to overlook it where there was so much. When a great Minister has lost his place, immediately virtue, honour, and wit, fly over to his successor, with the other ensigns of his office. Since I left off writing, I received a letter from my Lord Archbishop of Dublin,² or rather two letters upon these memorials. I think immediately to begin my soliciting; though they are not very perfect, for I would be glad to know, whether my Lord Archbishop would have the same method taken here, that has been done in England, to settle it by Parliament; but, however that will be time enough thought of this good while.

I must here tell you, that the Dean of St. Patrick's lives better than any man of quality I know; yet this day I dined with the Controller, who tells me, he drinks the Queen's wine to-day.³ I saw Collector Stearne,⁴ who desired me to present his service to you, and to tell you he would

in the "Memoirs of Thomas, late Marquess of Wharton" (Lond., 1715), his eulogist tells of days and nights spent by Wharton on horseback and in a coach and six to achieve political victories.

¹ On 19 October the Duke of Ormond (*supra*, p. 195) was appointed for the second time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in room of Lord Wharton.

² *Supra*, p. 196.

³ The Controller of the Household was Sir John Holland, a baronet and one of the knights of the shire for the county of Norfolk, who had been appointed to that office by Godolphin in the previous year. He is spoken of by Swift, whose acquaintance he had only just made, as a man of worth and learning ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*).

⁴ Enoch Stearne, already referred to in connection with the Leighs (*supra*, p. 43, n. 2), figures very prominently in the Journal to Stella, and not always as a model of propriety. He was a cousin of Dean Stearne, but it was as a friend of Stella that he enjoyed some degree of Swift's favour.

be glad to hear from you, but not about business; by which, I told him, I guessed he was putting you off about something you desired.

I would much rather be now in Ireland drinking your good wine,¹ and looking over, while you lost a crown at penny-ombre. I am weary of the caresses of great men out of place. The Controller expects every day the Queen's commands to break his staff.² He is the last great household officer they intend to turn out. My Lord Lieutenant is yet in, because they cannot agree about his successor. I am

Your most obedient humble servant,
 JON. SWIFT.

LXXXVI. [*Draft.*³]

SWIFT TO ROBERT HARLEY

A Memorial concerning the first fruits⁴

IN Ireland, hardly one parish in ten has any glebe, and the rest very small and scattered, except a very few; and these have seldom any houses.

¹ Compare this passage with Swift's lines quoted above, p. 180, n. 3.

² Sir John Holland was not removed until the following year. According to Swift ("Prose Works," ii, 23) his retention was due to Harley's desire to have some Whigs in his Ministry. There certainly seems no reason to doubt from Holland's antecedents the soundness of his Whiggism (G. E. C.'s "Complete Baronetage," ii, 74).

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ During the first few weeks after his arrival in London, Swift's only companions were those whom he had known in the days of the Whig administration, and of these none were more frequently with him than the Whig officials Addison and Steele. But through his old school-fellow, Francis Stratford, the merchant whose financial downfall is related in the *Journal* to Stella, Swift became known to Harley's favourite henchman the wily Erasmus Lewis, and by the arts of that "cunning shaver" Swift's political "apostasy" was brought about. In seeking the acquaintance of Lewis, Swift's object was to obtain an introduction to Harley, which was essential for the success of his mission concerning the first fruits, but Lewis, in consenting to facilitate his desire, saw what a great opportunity was offered to capture an invaluable recruit for the Tory party, and with consummate skill, in conference with Harley, laid the net for his splendid prize. When on

There are in proportion more impropriations in Ireland than in England, which added to the poverty of the country make the livings of very small and uncertain value, so that five or six are often joined to make a revenue of fifty pounds per annum: but these have seldom above one church in repair, the rest being destroyed by frequent wars, etc.

The clergy, for want of glebes, are forced in their own or neighbouring parish, to take farms to live on at rack-rents.

The Queen having some years since remitted the first fruits to the clergy of England, the Bishop of Cloyne, being then in London,¹ did petition her Majesty for the same favour in behalf of the clergy of Ireland, and received a gracious answer. But this affair, for want of soliciting, was not brought to an issue during the governments of the Duke of Ormond, and Earl of Pembroke.

Upon the Earl of Wharton's succeeding, Dr. Swift (who had solicited this matter in the preceding government), was desired² by the Bishops of Ireland to apply to his Excellency; who thought fit to receive the motion as wholly new, and what he could not consider till he were fixed in the government, and till the same application were made to him as had been to his predecessors. Accordingly, an address³ was delivered to his Lordship, with a petition to the Queen, and a memorial annexed from both Houses of Convocation; but a dispute happening in the Lower House, wherein his chaplain was concerned, and which was represented by the said chaplain as an affront designed to his Excellency, who was pleased to understand and report it so to Court,⁴ the Convocation was suddenly

Wednesday, 4 October, Swift was brought for the first time privately into Harley's presence, he was received with such a recognition of his abilities and of his position in the world of letters, as was calculated to win his support for the new Ministry, and before he left he had been promised the fullest consideration of his application on behalf of the Irish clergy. For the statement of their case a further interview was arranged for the following Saturday, and this memorial was in the meantime drawn up by Swift in the hope that Harley would lay it before Queen Anne.

¹ *Supra*, p. 49, n. 1; p. 50.

² The word "directed" is erased.

³ The word "petition" is erased.

⁴ The words from "who" to "Court" are interlined.

prorogued, and all farther thoughts about the first fruits let fall as desperate.¹

The subject of the petition was to desire, that the twentieth parts might be remitted to the clergy, and the first fruits made a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches.

The twentieth parts are twelve pence in the pound paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to about five hundred pounds per annum; but of little or no value to the Queen, after the officers and other charges are paid, though of much trouble and vexation to the clergy.

The first fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amount to four hundred and fifty pounds per annum; so that her Majesty, in remitting about a thousand pounds per annum to the clergy, will really lose not above five hundred pounds.

¹ The dissensions in the Convocation of Ireland alluded to here were a reflex of those which were at the same time disturbing the Convocation of England, and were primarily due to a statement made by two members of the Irish body, the Rev. Francis Higgins (*supra*, p. 164, n. 2) being one of them, before the English Lower House as to the Irish practice about "intermediate sessions," a statement which gave great satisfaction to Atterbury and his party. In "a long and interesting letter," published anonymously in Charles Trimmell's reply to Atterbury, entitled "Partiality Detected," Lambert (*supra*, p. 124, n. 3) had refuted the assertions of Higgins and his companion, and this letter, when reported to the Irish Lower House in the first session of Convocation after Wharton's appointment as Lord Lieutenant, was declared to be a false and scandalous libel. As the Journals of the Lower House are not forthcoming, the proceedings in it are not clearly known, but informal communications which took place between a committee appointed to consider Lambert's letter and Wharton, seem to have given rise to stormy debates. From the Journals of the Upper House, which are preserved amongst the records at Armagh, it appears that in July, 1709, Lambert delivered to the Primate, "as he alleged by his Excellency's command," certain documents connected with the proceedings, but these "papers were immediately remanded by the said Doctor," and the Upper House appear to have been left to obtain such information as they could from Lambert, who at their request attended one of their meetings and answered such questions as they thought fit to ask. This meeting was held early in August, 1709, in contravention of a writ of prorogation, which Wharton had issued and which lay on the Table for five hours while the House debated of "many things." ("A History of the Convocation of the Church of Ireland" by Bishop Reeves, preserved amongst the manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and information kindly supplied by the Rev. the Keeper of Armagh Library.)

Upon August 31, 1710, the two Houses of Convocation being met to be farther prorogued, the Archbishops and Bishops conceiving there was now a favourable juncture to resume their applications, did in their private capacities sign a power to the said Dr. Swift, to solicit the remitting of the first fruits and twentieth parts.

But there is a greater burden than this, and almost intolerable, upon several of the clergy in Ireland; the easing of which, the clergy only looked on as a thing to be wished, without making it part of their petition.¹

The Queen is impropiator of several parishes, and the incumbent pays her half-yearly a rent generally to the third part of the real value of the living, and sometimes half. Some of these parishes² by the increase of graziers, are seized on by the Crown, and cannot pay the reserved rent. The value of all these impropriations are about two thousand pounds per annum to her Majesty.

If the Queen would graciously please to bestow likewise these impropriations, to the Church, part to be remitted to the incumbent, where the rent is large and the living small, and the rest to be laid out in buying of glebes and impropriations; and building churches, it would be a most pious and seasonable bounty.

The utmost value of the twentieth parts, first fruits, and crown rents, is three thousand pounds per annum, of which about five hundred pounds per annum is sunk among officers; so that her Majesty, by this great benefaction, would lose but two thousand five hundred pounds per annum.

Endorsed by Swift—Copy of memorial to Mr. Harley about first fruits.

¹ The further application, in this and the succeeding paragraphs, was entirely Swift's own idea (*infra*, p. 206, n. 1), and in case Harley's reception of the proposition had been altogether unfavourable, Swift was provided with a copy of the Memorial in which these paragraphs were omitted, for presentation to the Queen.

² The words "yielding no income to the rector" are erased.

LXXXVII. [*Original.*¹]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *October 10, 1710.*

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter of September 16th, but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor shall be at any other time, till I have something that I think worth troubling you, because I am very sensible how much² an insignificant letter is worse than none at all. I had likewise the memorial, etc. in another packet: and I beg your Grace to enclose whatever packets you send me, I mean of bulk, under a large paper directed to Mr. Steele, at his office in the Cock-pit, and not for³ me at Mr. Steele's.⁴ I should have been glad the Bishops had been here, though I take Bishops to be the worst solicitors in the world, except in their own concerns.⁵ They cannot give themselves the little troubles of attendance that other men are content to swallow; else, I am sure, their two Lordships might have succeeded easier than men of my level can reasonably hope to do.⁶

As soon as I received the packets,⁷ I went to wait upon Mr. Harley. I had prepared him before by another hand where he was very intimate, and got myself represented,

¹ This is the fifth of the autographs in the Armagh Library (*supra*, p. 60, n. 1). Of the first portion of the letter there is a draft in the collection in the British Museum (see Preface). Hawkesworth printed the letter as it appears in the draft. Faulkner, who printed the letter twice, first gives it as actually sent, and secondly with the addition of a paragraph which appears in the draft but was omitted in the letter. Sheridan follows Faulkner's first version, but Nichols, Scott, and Roscoe, his second version. As will be seen from the following foot-notes the draft differs materially from the letter, and is a further proof of the pains taken by Swift in composition (*supra*, p. 146, n. 4).

² In the draft "because I knew how much," etc.

³ In the draft "whatever packet you send me in a paper directed to Mr. Steele, and not for," etc.

⁴ In order that the packets might go post free, a privilege attached no doubt to Steele's office of Gazetteer. The insertion of his name in the address of one packet had cost Swift eighteen pence ("Prose Works," ii, 18).

⁵ In the draft "except for themselves."

⁶ In the draft "are likely to do."

⁷ In the draft "the packet from your Grace," etc.

which I might justly do, as one extremely ill-used by the last Ministry after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have had me.¹ This happened to be in some sort Mr. Harley's own case. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, as I was whispered that he would;² and the more, upon the ill usage I had met with. I sat with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a history of the whole business, and the steps that had been made in it; which he heard as I could wish; and promised with great readiness his best credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met with from Lord Lieutenants³ and their Secretaries, who would not suffer others to solicit, and neglected it themselves. He fell in with me entirely; and said, neither they nor himself should have the merit of it, but the Queen, to whom he would show my memorial⁴ with the first opportunity; in order, if possible, to have it done in this inter-regnum.

I said, it was a great encouragement to the Bishops that he was in the Treasury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviser of the Queen to grant the same favour in England; that the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next to the Queen; but that it was nothing to him, who had done so much greater things; and that for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland, for giving him an occasion of gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the Church. He received my compliment⁵ extremely well, and renewed his promises with great kind-

¹ *Supra*, p. 200, n. 4.

² In the draft "whispered he would," etc.

³ In the draft the preceding sentences read "when I told him my business and gave him the history of it, which he heard as I could wish and declared he would do his utmost to effect it. I told him the difficulties we met with by Lord Lieutenants," etc.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 200.

⁵ In the draft the preceding sentences read: "I said, the honour and merit, next to the Queen, would be his, that it was a great encouragement to the Bishops that he was in the Treasury whom they knew to be the chief adviser of the Queen to grant the same favour in England; that consequently the honour and merit were nothing to him, who had done so much greater things; and that for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland, for giving him an opportunity of gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the Church. He took my compliment extremely well," etc.

ness.¹ I forgot to tell your Grace, that when I said I was empowered, etc. he desired to see my powers:² and then I heartily wished they had been a little ampler;³ and I have since wondered what scruple a number of Bishops could have of empowering⁴ a clergyman to do the Church and them a service, without any prospect or imagination of interest for himself, farther than about ten shillings a-year.⁵

Mr. H[arley] has invited me to dine with him to-day; but I shall not put him upon this discourse so soon. If he begins it himself, I will add at bottom whatever there is of moment.⁶ He said,⁷ Mr. Secretary St. John desires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring us together, which⁸ may be further help; though I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any but himself; wherein he differed from me, desiring⁹ I would speak to others, if it were but for form; and seemed to mean as if he would avoid the envy of doing things alone.¹⁰ But an old courtier, an intimate friend of

¹ At this point the following paragraph, already mentioned as sometimes inserted in the letter, appears in the draft: "Your Grace will please to know that, besides the first fruits, I told him of the crown rents, and showed the nature and value of them; but said my opinion was that the Convocation had not mentioned them in their petition to the Queen, delivered to Lord Wharton with the address, because they thought the times would not then bear it; but that I looked upon myself to have [*pride erased*] a discretionary power to solicit it in so favourable a juncture. I had two memorials ready of my own drawing up, as short as possible, showing the nature of the thing, and how long it had been depending, etc. One of these memorials had a paragraph at the end relating to the crown rents; the other had none. In case he had waived the motion of the crown rents I would have given him the last, but I gave him the other, which he immediately read, and promised to second both with his best offices to the Queen. As I have placed that paragraph of the crown rents in my memorial, it can do no harm, and may possibly do good. However, I beg your Grace to say nothing of it, but if it dies, let it die in silence, and we must take up with what can be got."

² *Supra*, p. 191.

³ In the draft "I heartily wished them more ample than they were," etc.

⁴ In the draft "to empower."

⁵ In the draft "without any imagination of interest for himself."

⁶ In the draft "I shall add it at the bottom of this."

⁷ In the draft "He says," etc.

⁸ In the draft "that."

⁹ In the draft "and desired."

¹⁰ In the draft "the envy of being thought to do such a thing alone."

mine, with whom I consulted, advised ¹ me still to let him know I relied wholly upon his good inclinations and credit with the Queen.

I find I am forced to say all this very confusedly, just as it lies in my memory; but, perhaps, it may give your Grace a truer notion of what passed, ² than if I had writ in more order. ³ Besides, I am forced to omit the greatest part of what I said, being not proper for a letter at such a distance; for I told very freely the late causes which had stopped this matter, and removed many odious misrepresentations, etc. I beg whatever letters are sent to Bishops or others here in this matter, by your Grace or the Primate, may be enclosed to me, that I may stifle or deliver them, as the course of the affair shall require. As for a letter from your Grace to the Queen, you say it needs advice; and I am sure that it is not from me, who shall not presume to offer; but perhaps from what I have writ you may form some judgement or other.

As for public affairs, I confess I began this letter on a half sheet, merely to limit myself on a subject with which I did not know whether your Grace would be entertained. I am not yet convinced that any access to men in power gives a man more truth or light than the politics of a coffee-house. I have known some great Ministers, who would seem to discover the very inside of their hearts, when I was sure they did not value whether I had proclaimed all they had said at Charing Cross. But I never knew one great Minister, who made any scruple to mould the alphabet into whatever words he pleased; or be more difficult about any facts, than his porter is about that of his lord's being at home: so that whoever has so little to do, as to desire some knowledge in secrets of State, must compare what he hears from several great men, as from one great man at several times, which is equally different. People were surprised, when the Court stopped its hands as to farther removals: the Controller, a Lord of the Admiralty, and some others, told me, they expected every day to be dismissed; but they were all deceived, and the higher Tories are very angry:

¹ In the draft "But an old courtier with whom I consulted (an intimate friend) advised," etc.

² In the draft "a truer idea how matters are," etc.

³ The draft ends here.

but some time ago, at Hampton Court, I picked out the reason from a dozen persons; and told Sir J[ohn] Holland, I would lay a wager he would not lose his staff so soon as he imagined.¹ The new Ministry are afraid of too great a majority of their own side in the House of Commons, and therefore stopped short in their changes; yet some refiners think they have gone too far already, for of thirty new members in the present elections, about twenty-six are Tories. The Duke of O[rmond] seems still to stand the fairest for Ireland; although I hear some faint hopes they will not nominate very soon.²

The ruin of the late party was owing to a great number and complication of causes, which I have had from persons able enough to inform me; and that is all we can mean by a good hand, for the veracity is not to be relied on. The Duchess of Marlborough's removal has been seven years working: that of the Treasurer above three, and he was to have been dismissed before Lord Sunderland. Beside the many personal causes, that of breaking measures settled for a peace four years ago, had a great weight, when the French had complied with all terms, etc. In short, they apprehended the whole party to be entirely against a peace for some time, until they were rivetted too fast to be broke, as they otherwise expected, if the war should conclude too soon.

I cannot tell, for it just comes into my head, whether some unanimous addresses, from those who love the Church in Ireland, or from Dublin, or your Grace and the clergy, might not be seasonable; or, whether my Lord Wharton's being not yet superseded may yet hinder it. I forgot to tell your Grace, that the memorial I gave Mr. H[arley] was drawn up by myself, and was an abstract of what I had said to him: it was as short as I could make it; that which you sent being too long, and of another nature. I dined to-day with Mr. H[arley]; but I must humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I say no more at present, for reasons I may shortly let you know.³ In the

¹ *Supra*, p. 200, n. 2.

² *Supra*, p. 199, n. 1.

³ As appears from the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 26), Swift had received then an assurance from Harley that his application was likely to be granted, but he did not tell the Archbishop "a syllable" of what Harley had said, because Harley had charged him to keep it secret.

meantime, I desire your Grace to believe me, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

Addressed—His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Ireland.

LXXXVIII. [*Faulkner*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *October 24, 1710.*

REVEREND SIR,

I THANK you for yours of the 10th instant, and send you enclosed a farther power by my Lord Primate and me.² My Lord is not able to come to town, which obliged me to wait on him at Johnstown,³ and hindered the joining of two or three Bishops in it who are yet in town: but I suppose our signing is sufficient. I went in the morning to wait on his Grace, and intended, when he had signed it, to have applied to other Bishops; but he was abroad taking the air, and I could not get it until it was late, and thought it better to sign and send it as it is, than wait for another post.

You may expect by the next a letter to his Grace of Canterbury, and another to the Archbishop of York.⁴ I apprised them both of the business. The latter, if I re-

¹ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

² The "farther power," which is printed below, was sent to Swift apparently on account of his reference to the limited authority given him when leaving Ireland (*supra*, p. 206). King little realized that Harley's wish to secure Swift's services for his party was likely to have more to do with the success of his mission than any proof that his mission was one pleasing to high ecclesiastics.

³ Johnstown, where Archbishop Marsh (*supra*, p. 138, n. 3) was then residing, was in Dilly Ashe's parish of Finglas (*supra*, p. 42, n. 1). There was then no residence for the Primate in Armagh, the city of his see, and a house occupied by Marsh's predecessors in the Anglo-Norman stronghold of Drogheda, which lies upon the border of the Primate's diocese, was falling into desuetude.

⁴ Archbishop Tenison and Archbishop Sharp (*supra*, p. 152, n. 2).

member right, spoke to her Majesty about it. I am not sure that her Majesty remembers what I said on that subject; but am sure she was pleased to seem satisfied with it, and to scruple only the time,—I suppose, not thinking it fit to confer the favour she designed the clergy of Ireland by the hands it must then have passed through,—but said, that in the interval of a change, or absence of a chief governor, it should be done. I hope now is the proper time, and that her Majesty will rather follow the dictates of her own bountiful inclinations, than the intrigues of cunning covetous counsellors.

I thought to have troubled you with a great many things; but such a crowd of visitors have broken in upon me before I could lock my gates, that I am forced to break off abruptly; recommending you to God's care, I am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

LXXXIX. [*Original*.¹]

PRIMATE MARSH AND ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *October 24, 1710.*

SIR,

WE directed a letter to the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe last August, desiring and empowering them to solicit the affair of our first fruits and twentieth parts with her Majesty;² which has depended so long, notwithstanding her Majesty's good inclinations, and several promises of the chief governors here to lay our addresses before her Majesty in the best manner. We were then apprehensive, that those Bishops might return from England before the business could be effected, and therefore we desired them to concern you in it, having so good assurance of your ability, prudence, and fitness to prosecute such a matter. We find the Bishops returned before you came to London, for which we are very much concerned; and judging this the most proper time to prosecute it with success, we entreat you to take the full management of it into your hands; and do commit the care of soliciting it to your diligence and prudence; desiring you to let us know from time to time what progress is made in

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 191.

it. And, if any thing farther be necessary on our part, on your intimation we shall be ready to do what shall be judged reasonable. This, with our prayers for you, and the good success of your endeavours, is all from, Sir,

Your affectionate humble servants and brothers,
NARCISSUS ARMAGH.
WILLIAM DUBLIN.

Addressed—To the Revd. Dr. Jonathan Swift, these.

XC. [*Hawkesworth*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November 2, 1710.*

REVEREND SIR,

THE declaration of his Grace the Duke of Ormond to be our Lord Lieutenant has stopped the further letters of recommendation² designed to be sent to you, because the Bishops were unwilling to solicit the affair of the first fruits and twentieth parts by any other hand.³ I gave them some account how far you had been concerned in it; and they ordered a letter to Mr. Southwell,⁴ to give him an account, that the papers were in your hands, and to desire you to wait on him with them, and take your own measures in soliciting the affair. I am not to conceal from you, that some expressed a little jealousy that you would not be acceptable to the present courtiers, intimating that you were under the reputation of being a favourite of the late party in power. You may remember I asked you the question before you were engaged in this affair, knowing of what moment it was; and by the coldness I found in some, I soon perceived what was at the bottom. I am of opinion, that this conjuncture of circumstance will oblige you to exert yourself with more vigour; and if it should succeed, you have gained your point; whereas if you should

¹ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but it is only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

² To the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (*supra*, p. 209).

³ *I.e.*, than that of Ormond.

⁴ Edward Southwell (*supra*, p. 86, n. 3) was again acting under Ormond as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

fail, it would cause no reflections, that having been the fate of so many before you.¹ I can be very little useful to you at this distance; but if you foresee any thing, wherein I may be serviceable to the business, or yourself, you may command, Sir,

Yours, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

XCI. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *November 4, 1710.*

MY LORD,

I AM most unhappily engaged this night, where I cannot write to your Grace so long a letter as I intended; but I will make it up in a post or two. I have only now to tell you, that Mr. Harley has given me leave to acquaint my Lord Primate and your Grace, that the Queen has granted the first fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of Ireland. It was done above a fortnight ago; but I was then obliged to keep it a secret, as I hinted to your Grace in my last letter.² He has now given me leave to let your Grace and my Lord Primate know it; only desires you will say nothing of it until a letter comes to you from my Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State.³ All I know yet is, that the Bishops are to be made a corporation for the disposal of the first fruits, and that the twentieth parts are to be remitted. I will write to your Grace the particulars of my negotiation, and some other amusements very soon. I humbly beg your Grace to acquaint my Lord Primate with this.

I had your Grace's letter last post; and you will now see

¹ This letter, which did not reach Swift until the 23rd of that month ("Prose Works," ii, 58), crossed one from Swift to King, which is printed below, telling the Archbishop that the application was granted. As will be seen, the receipt of this letter provoked an indignant reply from Swift.

² *Supra*, p. 208.

³ William Legge, then second Baron, and afterwards first Earl of Dartmouth, had succeeded Lord Sunderland as Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Swift wrote of him at that time as "a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour" ("Prose Works," ix, 173).

that your letters to the Archbishops here are unnecessary.¹ I was a little in pain about the Duke of Ormond, who, I feared, might interpose in this matter, and be angry it was done without him: but Mr. Harley has very kindly taken this matter upon himself. It was yesterday I dined with him, and he told me all this; and to-morrow I dine with him again, where I may hear more. I shall obey your Grace's directions, whether my stay here be farther necessary, after you have had the letter from the Secretary's office. I know not what it will be; but if any forms remain to finish, I shall be ready to assist in it as I have hitherto done.

I have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with Mr. Harley's conduct in this whole affair. In three days he spoke of it to the Queen, and gave her my memorial, and so continued until he got her grant. I am now in much company, and steal this time to write to your Grace.² The Queen was resolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herself. Mr. Harley advised her to it; and next to her Majesty he is the only person to be thanked. I suppose it will not be many days before you have the letter from my Lord Dartmouth; and your Grace will afterward signify your commands, if you have any for me. I shall go to the office, and see that a dispatch be made as soon as possible. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

¹ *Supra*, p. 209.

² As the *Journal to Stella* reveals ("Prose Works," ii, 45) this letter was written at night in a coffee-house on Swift's return from a dinner with Addison and Steele at Kensington, where he stayed until nine o'clock. But before then the plot laid by Lewis and Harley had done its work, and Swift was bound irrevocably to the Tory party. As the result of four dinners at Harley's table, where Swift met Matthew Prior, on whom the new Ministry had hitherto depended principally for literary assistance, Swift had been installed as editor of the "*Examiner*" ("Prose Works," ix, 69), and two days previously had issued his first number. The bait had been the fulfilment of Swift's ambition to be given an opportunity of becoming "the adviser of the nation's chosen statesmen" and of proving "the folly of those who had committed the unpardonable crime of refusing to recognise his talents" (Moriarty's "*Dean Swift*," p. 76).

XCII. [*Hawkesworth*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November* 16, 1710.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE before me yours of the 4th instant, which I received two posts ago. It was very grateful to me, and I hope it will have a good effect as to the Church in general, and be of use to you in particular, which I heartily wish. My Lord Primate is out of town, and I have not seen him since I received yours, nor do I see any haste to communicate it to him; but in due time there will be no need to make a secret of it. I durst not have said anything of it, if you had not given me the caution, lest any accident should intervene, to which all matters of this nature are liable. It puts a man out of countenance to raise expectations, if he should not be able to satisfy them. I understand that her Majesty designed this should be her own act; but the good instruments, that have been subservient, ought not to be forgot; and, with God's help, I will do my endeavour that they shall not. I shall be impatient to see the accomplishment of this charitable work.

We are here in as great a ferment about choosing Parliament men, on a supposition that this Parliament will be dissolved as soon as yours in England. And it is remarkable, that such as design to betray their country, are more diligent to make votes, than those that have some faint intentions to serve it. It would prevent a great deal of needless charges and heats, if we certainly knew whether we should have a new Parliament or not.²

All business in Chancery, and in truth all public business, is at a stand, by the indisposition of my Lord Chancellor.³

¹ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but it is only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

² The Irish Parliament was not dissolved for three years (*supra*, p. 126, n. 3).

³ Richard Freeman, who then held the great seal of Ireland, and who has been already referred to (*supra*, p. 138, n. 3), died a few days later. He had been sent four years previously from the English Bar to fill the position of Chief Baron of Ireland, and after a year's tenure of that office was appointed Lord Chancellor. If judged by a volume

I would tell you, that I am engaged most unhappily this night, to excuse this short letter; but the plain truth, I think, will do as well; which is, that I have no more to say but my prayers for you, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

XCIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *November 23, 1710.*

MY LORD,

I HAD your Grace's letter not until this day: whether it lay in the Secretary's Office, or was kept by the wind, I cannot tell; but I would have exposed it immediately whenever it had come.¹ Mr. Southwell told me two days

of legal reports of somewhat doubtful merit, of which he was the author, his attainments do not seem to have been of the very highest order, but the great Somers, to whom Freeman owed his promotion, is said to have had a good opinion of his friend's abilities as well as integrity. He was evidently a stout Whig, hence Swift's allusion at that time to the "nasty dead Chancellor" ("Prose Works," ii, 63), and this may have had some influence on Somers' judgement. In Ireland, where legal ability was at a low ebb, Freeman was considered a great lawyer. In a curious "Elegy on the much Lamented Death of the Right Honourable R. Freeman, one of the Lords Justices and Lord High Chancellor of Her Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland" (Trinity College, Dublin) after adulation of his serenity and affability of temper, of his justice and attention in the cause of the poor, and of his efforts that "coming ages might through him enjoy eternal holiday," the poet refers to him in the capacity of a lawyer in the following lines:

"Upon the Bench a mighty Minos he
Seem'd by the sealing of his equity

Who of man's laws as great a master was,
As ever did decide a human cause."

¹ As will be seen Swift was thrown into a state of fury by the receipt of the Archbishop's letter of 2 November (*supra*, p. 211). Indeed, to such a degree was he enraged that at first he did not take time to master its contents, and a full realization of their purport drew from him a still more stinging rejoinder than the present one (*infra*, p. 217). Referring to the present letter in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 59) Swift says: "I writ a very warm answer to the Archbishop immediately and showed my resentments, as I ought, against the Bishops, only in good manners excepting himself."

ago of the letter your Grace mentions,¹ which surprised me a good deal, when I remembered I had writ to your Grace three weeks ago, that the Queen had absolutely granted the first fruits and twentieths, and that Mr. Harley had permitted me to signify the same to the Primate and your Grace. Perhaps that letter might not have reached your Grace before that resolution of sending to the Duke of Ormond;² but, however, I gave you such an account of my reception from Mr. Harley, and his readiness to undertake this affair, and what steps he had already made in it, as I thought would have given you some sight in what way the business was; but Mr. Harley charged me to tell nobody alive what the Queen had resolved on, till he gave me leave; and by the conclusion of a former letter, your Grace might see you were to expect some farther intelligence very soon.³

Your Grace may remember, that upon your telling me how backward the Bishops were in giving me a power, I was very unwilling to go at all, and sent the Dean of St. Patrick's to tell you so; but you thought I could not handsomely put it off, when things were gone so far.⁴ Your objection then, about the disadvantage I lay under in point of party, I knew well enough how to answer, otherwise nothing should have prevailed on me to come hither; and if my Lords the Bishops doubt whether I have any credit with the present Ministry, I will, if they please, undo this

¹ The letter which Southwell told Swift he had received, was one from the Bishops of Ireland "with an address to the Duke of Ormond to intercede with the Queen to take off the first fruits" ("Prose Works," ii, 58). But the letter to which the Archbishop had alluded (*supra*, p. 211), was one sent by the Bishop of Kildare to Southwell "to call upon Swift for the papers, etc." When Swift was aware of the second letter his rage became tenfold greater.

² In Swift's indignation dates escaped his memory, but, as he afterwards saw (*infra*, p. 218), it ought to have been apparent to him that his letter could not have reached the Archbishop before the Bishops' resolution, which was announced to him by the Archbishop in a letter dated two days before his own was written.

³ In this passage Swift blames the Archbishop for not understanding a reference on the obscurity of which he had at the time prided himself (*supra*, p. 208, n. 3).

⁴ The proposition that Swift should be again employed in soliciting a remission of the first fruits emanated from Archbishop King and met with opposition from some of the other Bishops (*infra*, p. 223). Dean Stearne, who appears to have acted as an intermediary in the affair, stood high in the Archbishop's favour.

matter in as little time as I have done it. I did reckon your Grace understood and believed me in what I said; and I reckon so still: but I will not be at the pains of undeceiving so many. I never proposed to myself either credit or profit by my labour, but the satisfaction of doing good, without valuing whether I had the merit of it or not.¹ But the method now taking was the likeliest way to set all things backward, if it were not past danger.

It shall be my business, until my Lords the Bishops forbid me to engage farther, to prevent any misunderstanding with Mr. Harley by this sudden step. The thing was all done before the Duke of Ormond was named for Lord Lieutenant, so there was no affront at all to him; and Mr. Harley told me more than once, that such an interest was the properest, because he thought the Queen herself should have the doing of it: but I said a great deal of this in former letters. If your Grace has any commands for me of your own, I shall obey them with all cheerfulness, being, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

XCIV. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *November 28, 1710.*

MY LORD,

A DAY or two after I received your Grace's letter, of the 2nd instant, I dined with Mr. Southwell,² who showed me the letter of the Bishops to the Duke of Ormond, and another letter from the Bishop of Kildare to Mr. Southwell, to desire him to get the papers from me, which I shall send

¹ There has been in a previous note (*supra*, p. 191, n. 2) reference to this passage as proof that Swift's visit to England had no object ulterior to that of securing a remission of the first fruits. Even stronger support of that view is to be found in Swift's words to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 49), "Why should the Whigs think I came to England to leave them? Sure my journey was no secret? I protest sincerely I did all I could to hinder it, as the Dean can tell you, although now I do not repent it."

² It was on the day after the preceding letter was dispatched that Swift dined with Southwell ("Prose Works," ii, 58).

him as soon as I have looked them out.¹ Mr. Southwell said, that a month or two hence, when the Duke began to think of his journey, it would be time enough to solicit this affair. Upon this I told him frankly, that the Queen had already granted the first fruits, and that I had writ to your Grace by Mr. Harley's directions, but that my letter did not reach you until yours was sent to the Duke and him; and that therefore I thought it would be a very odd step to begin again. He said, he was glad it was done, and that he did not design to take any of the credit from me, etc. I told him sincerely, it was what I did not regard at all, and provided the Church had the benefit, it was indifferent to me how it came about, and so we parted.² I had told the Duke of Ormond at first that I would apply myself to Mr. Harley if his Grace advised it, which he did; and I afterward told Mr. Southwell, that Mr. Harley had been very kind in promising his good offices: farther I durst not speak, being under an engagement of secrecy to Mr. Harley; and the whole thing was done before the Duke was declared Lord Lieutenant.

If your Grace considers the time you sent me the paper, you will judge what dispatch was made; in two days after, I delivered a memorial I drew up to Mr. Harley; and in less than a fortnight he had treated the matter four times with the Queen, and then told me she had granted it absolutely, as my memorial desired, but charged me to tell no man alive; and your Grace may remember, that one of my letters ended with something as if I were limited, and would say more in a short time. In about a week after, I had leave to inform the Primate and your Grace, as I did in my letter of the 4th instant. It is to be considered, that the Queen was all this while at Hampton Court or Windsor, so that I think the dispatch was very great. But indeed, I expected a letter would have been sent from the Secretary's Office, to signify this matter in due form; and so it will: but Mr. Harley had a mind first to bring me to the Queen, for that and some other matters; and she came to town not a week ago, and was out of order one day when it was designed I should attend her, and, since, the Parliament's

¹ *Supra*, p. 216.

² "As I hope to live, I despise the credit of it, out of an excess of pride," says Swift to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 59), "and desire you will not give me the least merit when you talk of it."

beginning has taken her up; but in a few days, Mr. Harley tells me he will introduce me.¹ This I tell your Grace in confidence, only to satisfy you in particular, why the Queen has not yet sent a letter in form.

Upon that dispatch to Mr. Southwell, I was perplexed to the last degree. I did not value the slighting manner of the Bishop of Kildare's letter, barely desiring Mr. Southwell to call on me for the papers, without anything farther, as if I had been wholly insignificant; but I was at a loss how to behave myself with the Duke and Mr. Harley. I met the latter yesterday in the Court of Requests, and he whispered me to dine with him. At dinner I told him of the dispatch to Mr. Southwell, and rallied him for putting me under difficulties with his secrets; that I was running my head against a wall; that he reckoned he had done the Church and me a favour; that I should disoblige the Duke of Ormond; and that the Bishops in Ireland thought I had done nothing, and had therefore taken away my commission. He told me your Lordship had taken it away in good time, for the thing was done; and that, as for the Duke of Ormond, I need not be uneasy; for he would let his Grace know it as soon as he saw him, which would be in a day or two, at the Treasury; and then promised again to carry me to the Queen, with the first opportunity.²

Your Grace now sees how the affair stands, and whether I deserve such treatment from the Bishops; from every part whereof I wholly exclude your Grace, and could only wish my first letter, about the progress I had made, had found so much credit with you, as to have delayed that dispatch until you heard once more from me. I had at least so much discretion, not to pretend I had done more than I really did, but rather less; and if I had consulted my own interest, I should have employed my credit with the present Ministry

¹ So far as is known Swift was never presented to Queen Anne. In the *Journal to Stella Swift* makes no allusion to such an intention on the part of the Ministers until 29 December, but a fortnight before says that Harley and St. John are resolved that he must preach before the Queen, and that he hopes they will forget it, which they did (*"Prose Works,"* ii, 75, 86).

² In this paragraph Swift's object is, of course, to show how great a man he was in London, and how little he cared for the opinion of Irish Bishops who he had told Stella, when writing to her the day before (*"Prose Works,"* ii, 61), "may hang themselves for a parcel of insolent ungrateful rascals."

another way. The Bishops are mistaken in me; it is well known here, that I could have made my markets with the last Ministry if I had pleased; and the present men in power are very well apprised of it, as your Grace may, if I live to see you again; which I certainly never would in Ireland, if I did not flatter myself that I am upon a better foot with your Grace, than with some other of their Lordships. Your Grace is pleased to command me to continue my solicitations; but as now there will be no need of them, so I think my commission is at an end, ever since I had notice of that dispatch to Mr. Southwell.

However, in obedience to your Grace, if there be anything to be done about expediting the forms, wherein my service can be of use, I will readily perform as far as I am able: but I must tell your Grace what gives me the greatest displeasure, that I had hopes to prevail that the Queen should in some months be brought to remit the crown rents, which I named in my memorial, but in an article by itself; and which Mr. Harley had given me some hopes of, and I have some private reasons to think might have been brought about.¹ I mentioned it in the memorial, only as from myself; and therefore, if I have an opportunity, I shall venture to mention it to the Queen, or at least repeat it to Mr. Harley. This I do as a private man, whom the Bishops no longer own. It is certainly right to pay all civilities, and make applications to a Lord Lieutenant; but, without some other means, a business may hang long enough, as this of the first fruits did for four years under the Duke of Ormond's last government, although no man loves the Church of Ireland better than his Grace; but such things are forgot and neglected between the governor and his secretaries, unless solicited by somebody who has the business at heart.

But I have done, and shall trouble your Grace no farther upon this affair; and on other occasions, while I am here, will endeavour to entertain you with what is likely to pass in this busy scene, where all things are taking a new, and, I think, a good turn;² and where, if you please, I will write

¹ *Supra*, p. 206, n. 1.

² This is the first direct allusion Swift makes in his correspondence with the Archbishop to the transfer of his allegiance from the Whig to the Tory party; but as already shown his boats had been burned many weeks before (*supra*, p. 213, n. 2).

to you, with that freedom I formerly did; and I beg your Grace to employ me in any commands you may have here, which I shall be prouder to obey, than to have ever so much merit with some others; being, with perfect respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

Your Grace will please to direct for me at St. James's Coffee-house, St. James's Street. Two hundred members supped last night at the Fountain Tavern, where they went to determine about a chairman for elections. Medlycott and Manley were the two candidates;¹ but the company could not agree, and parted in an ill humour. It is a matter of some moment, and I hope it will be amicably made up; but the great rock we are afraid of, is a dissension among the majority, because the weakest part, when they grow discontented, know where to retire and be received.

XCV. [*Hawkesworth.*²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November 30, 1710.*

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 23rd, by last packet. I was aware of what you observed, when the letter to his Grace³ was signed; but it was before I received yours of the 4th instant, wherein you tell me, that the business was in effect done; nor could I have any certain prospect that it would be done from any intimation that I had before from you. You must know that this was not the only thing displeased me in the letter; it was drawn and signed by some before I saw it. I looked on it as a snare laid in my way; nor must you wonder that some are better at making their court, than serving the Church; and can flatter much.

¹ Thomas Medlycott, who was member for Westminster, and John Manley, who was member for Bossiney.

² There is a copy in King's Correspondence (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

³ The letter from the Bishops to the Duke of Ormond (*supra*, p. 216, n. 1).

better, than vote on the right side. Those that had rendered themselves justly obnoxious by deserting his Grace's friends and interest in notorious instances, think they have salved all by this early application, and perhaps it may prove so.¹

But if the matter be done, assure yourself it will be known by whom, and what means it was effected. In the meantime, God forbid you should think of slacking your endeavours to bring it to perfection. I am yet under an obligation not to say anything of the matter from your letter; and whilst so, it would be hard for me to refuse to sign such a letter as that you mention, or find a pretence for so doing; but when the business is done, the means and methods will likewise be known, and everybody have their due that contributed to it.

I shall reckon nothing done till the Queen's letter come here. You may remember how we were borne in hand in my Lord Pembroke's time, that the Queen had passed the grant; which, after a whole year's expectation and solicitation, proved only a mouthful of moonshine.² But, if it succeeds better now, we must owe it, next to the Queen's goodness and bounty, to the great care of the great man to whom you have applied, and to your management. It is seven or eight years since we first attempted this affair,³ and it passed through several hands; yet no progress was made in it, which was certainly due to the ill methods taken to put it forward; which, in truth, instead of promoting, obstructed it. At the very first motion, it was promised, and in a fair way; but the Bishops here, out of their abundant deference to the Government, made the same wrong step they would have done now; and we could never make the least progress since, till now, and I pray God we have not put it back again.

You must not imagine, that it is out of any disaffection to you, or any distrust of your ability or diligence, that the Bishops here were so cold in their employing you; but they reckon on party; and though several knew what you were, yet they imagined, and some vouched, that you were looked on at Court as engaged on the other side; and you cannot

¹ The desire on the part of certain Bishops to propitiate the Duke of Ormond arose no doubt from votes given by them in the House of Lords during the two previous viceroyalities.

² *Supra*, p. 147.

³ *Supra*, p. 50.

do yourself a greater service than to bring this to a good issue, to their shame and conviction. I heartily recommend you and your business to God's care. I am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

XCVI. [*Sheridan.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *December 16, 1710.*

SIR,

THIS is to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 28th ultimo which came not to my hands till Thursday last,² by reason of winds, that kept the packets on the other side.³

I find the matter of our first fruits, etc. is talked of now.⁴ I reckon on nothing certain till her Majesty's letter comes in form; and query, why should you not come and bring it with you? It would make you a very welcome clergyman to Ireland, and be the best means to satisfy mankind how it was obtained, although I think it will be out of dispute. I am very well apprised of the dispatch you gave this affair, and well pleased, that I judged better of the person fit to be employed, than some of my brethren. But now it is done, as I hope it is effectually, they will assume as much as their neighbours; which I shall never contradict.

Things are taking a new turn here as well as with you; and I am of opinion, by the time you come here, few will profess themselves Whigs. The greatest danger I apprehend, and which terrifies me more than perhaps you will be able to imagine, is the fury and indiscretion of some of

¹ There is a copy in King's Correspondence (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

² The 14th of December.

³ The communication with Ireland was then much interrupted. On 6 December Swift had not received the Archbishop's letter of 16 November, or, which is not remarkable, that of the 30th, and writes to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 67): "I find the Archbishop very silent to that letter I sent him with an account that the business was done. I believe he knows not what to write or say; and I have since written twice to him, both times with a vengeance."

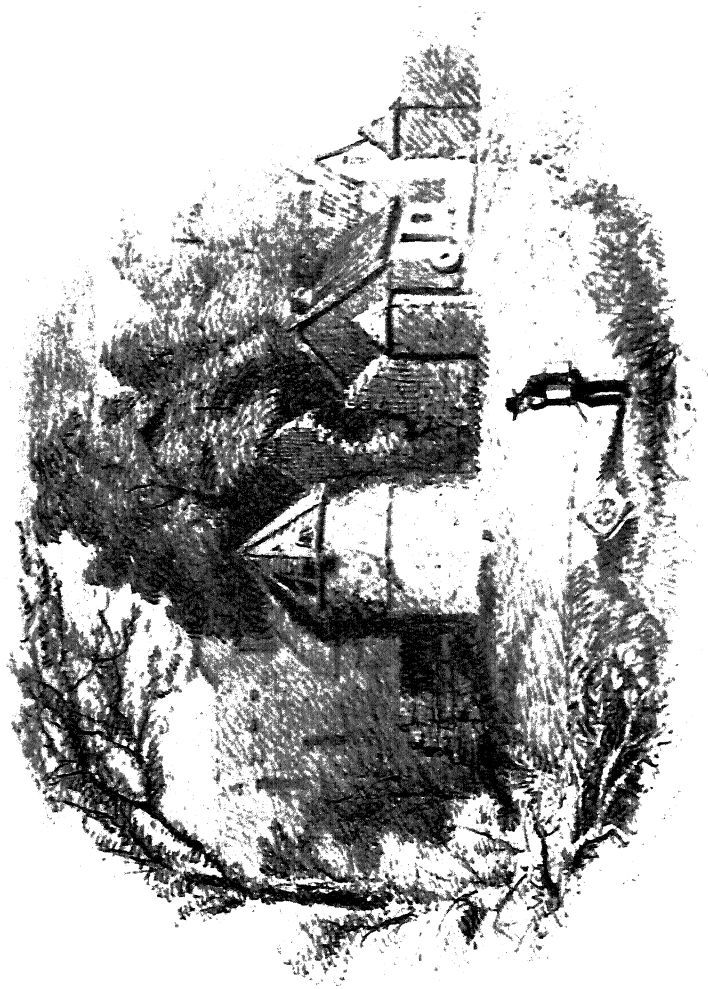
⁴ On 24 November Swift had written to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 59): "I give you free leave to say on occasion that it is done, and that Mr. Harley prevailed on the Queen to do it, etc. as you please."

our own people; who never had any merit but by embroiling things they did, and [who] I am afraid will yet do mischief. You will soon hear of a great conspiracy discovered in the county of Westmeath. I was used to so many discoveries of plots in the latter end of King Charles's time, and the beginning of King James's, that I am not surprised at this discovery. I must not say anything of it, till all the witnesses be examined: so many as have deposed are not decisive. The design of it is to show all the gentlemen of Ireland to be a pack of desperate Whigs, ready to rise up in arms against her Majesty, for the old Ministry, associating to that purpose. Whether it be for the interest of Ireland to have this believed you may judge; and sure there must be good evidence to make any reasonable man believe it. Mr. Higgins has drawn up the narrative, and sent it to England, and will pawn all he is worth to make it good.¹ I heartily recommend you to God's favour; and am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

Addressed—At St. James's Coffee-house, James's Street.

¹ From a letter of Archbishop King quoted in a note by Hawkesworth ("Letters," i, 84), but not otherwise to be found owing to the Archbishop's correspondence at that period being undecipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2), it appears that "four or five gentlemen of small fortunes" in the county of Westmeath were accused by a clergyman of the Established Church, beneficed in that county, who had been previously a member of a Roman Catholic order, of having signed "an association to fight up to their knees in blood against the new Ministry." For proof the clergyman depended on a servant of one of the gentlemen, who denied on examination that he ever said what was stated, and as the only other charges against the gentlemen were allegations of "seditious words" spoken "at dinner in their cups or conversation," a Grand Jury of their county declined to find bills against them. A tract of the time entitled "The Frier Unmask'd, or A Brief Account of the Late Pretended Plot in Westmeath and of the Informer Dominick Langton, Clerk, a Dominican Frier, publish'd in Vindication of the Accus'd Gentlemen" (Lond., 1711), throws much light on the genesis of the accusations, and show that Langton, who was a despicable creature of the lowest moral character, was a tool of the Rev. Francis Higgins (*supra*, p. 164, n. 2), who sought to recommend himself to the new Ministry. In connection with subsequent letters there will be further reference to the part taken by Higgins at that time in public affairs, as well as to Langton.



KILROOT

From a drawing by Mr. A. C. Stannus in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum

XCVII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *December* 30, 1710.

MY LORD,

I HAVE just received your Grace's letter of the 16th; and I was going however to write again to your Grace, not upon business, but to amuse you with something from hence, which no man wants more than your Grace, considering the variety of other people's affairs you have always on your hands, as well as the Church's and your own, which are the same thing. The Duke of Ormond told me the other day that the Primate declined very fast, and was hardly able to sign a paper. I said, I wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonth past.¹ I hope, for the Church's good, that your Grace's friends will do their duty, in representing you as the person the kingdom wishes to succeed him. I know not how your dispositions stand that way. I know my Lord President has great credit at present, and I have understood him to be a friend to your Grace.² I can only say, I have no regard to your interest in this, but that of the Church; and therefore should be very glad to drop in a word where it lies in my way, if I thought it would not be disagreeable to you. I dread their sending a person from hence, which I shall venture to prevent with all the little credit I have, and should be glad to see a Primate of our own kingdom and University; and that is all I shall venture to say on this subject.

Marshal Staremberg has certainly got to Saragossa with seven thousand men, and the Duke of Vendome has sent him his equipage. Mr. Stanhope was positive to part forces with Staremberg, which occasioned this loss; and

¹ Primate Marsh (*supra*, p. 138, n. 2) had been again named as a Lord Justice in the new commission issued on the appointment of Ormond as Lord Lieutenant (*supra*, p. 199, n. 1). He was then seventy-two years of age. His death took place in 1713.

² Lord Rochester, who had succeeded Lord Somers as Lord President, may have been instrumental in King's translation from Derry to Dublin, as he resigned the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland only a few weeks before the letters patent were issued to King.

when the battle was, they were several miles asunder.¹ The Duke of Marlborough was yesterday an hour with the Queen; it was set him at twelve at noon, when it was likely his visit should be shortest.² Mr. St. John was with her just before, and Mr. Harley just after. The Duke's behaviour was with the most abject submission; that he was the meanest of her Majesty's instruments; her humble creature, a poor worm; etc. This I had from a Lord to whom the Queen told it; for the Ministers never tell any thing; and it is only by picking out and comparing that one can ever be the wiser for them. I took leave yesterday of Lord Peterborough, who is going in a day or two to Vienna: I said I wished he were going to Spain; he told me, he hoped his present journey would be to more purpose; and by what I can gather, they will use all means to make as speedy a peace as possible, with safety and honour.³ Lord Rivers tells me he will not set out for Hanover this month. I asked him about his late reception there, because the town was full of stories about it; he as-

¹ The reference is to the capture of the English forces in Spain under General Stanhope at Brihuega, and to the subsequent defeat of Stanhope's ally, General Staremburg, at Villa Viciosa. It was reported in London two days previously (Luttrell, *op. cit.*, vi, 671) that the French Commander, Vendome, was pursuing Staremburg, but Staremburg escaped. In the eyes of the Tories Stanhope could not do right, but owing to the scantiness of the supplies, the course which he took seems to have been necessary and to have been adopted without opposition from Staremburg.

² Marlborough had returned from the Continent on the previous day, and "was welcomed by the populace with undiminished enthusiasm." Queen Anne received him that evening, but was "too much embarrassed at her first interview with her former friend to talk of any other subject than the weather." The next morning, however, she declared her pleasure with no uncertainty, and informed Marlborough that he must not expect a vote of thanks from the Parliament. At a subsequent interview she desired him to bring her the Duchess's key as Mistress of the Robes (Wyon, *op. cit.*, ii, 263).

³ Lord Peterborough's appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary to Vienna was due primarily to a desire to send him out of London, but his departure did not take place for a fortnight owing to a fresh inquiry by the House of Lords into the conduct of the war in Spain. When dining with Harley for the second time (*supra*, p. 213, n. 2) Swift had met Peterborough (*supra*, pp. 39, 73), whom he had not seen for some years, and on their renewing their acquaintance Peterborough "grew mightily fond" of him. On this occasion Peterborough prophesied that "Stanhope would lose Spain before Christmas" ("Prose Works," ii, 32, 84).

sured me he could not desire a better; and if it were otherwise, I believe he would hardly be pitched upon to be sent again.¹

The young people in Parliament are very eager to have some inquiries made into past managements, and are a little angry with the slackness of the Ministry upon that article; they say, they have told those who sent them, that the Queen's calling a new Parliament was to correct and look into former abuses; and if something of the latter be not done, they know not how to answer it. I am not altogether satisfied how the Ministry is disposed in this point.² Your Grace has heard there was much talk lately of Sir Richard Levinge's design to impeach Lord Wharton; and several persons of great consideration in the House assured me they would give him all encouragement; and I have reason to know, it would be acceptable to the Court: but Sir Richard is the most timorous man alive, and they all begin to look upon him in that character, and to hope nothing from him.³ However, they talk of some other in-

¹ Richard Savage, fourth Earl of Rivers, who, like Swift, was a convert to the Tory party, had been sent out in August to Hanover to allay the Elector's apprehensions as to the Tory reaction. His character was, even for that age, a shameless one, and Swift, anxious as he was to speak well of Harley's friends, had to admit Rivers' failings. "I loved the man and detest his memory" ("Prose Works" ii, 387).

² "Eager as were many resentful spirits to rake into the conduct of those who had been recently in power, their fear of displeasing Anne determined them to forgo their zeal for inquiry until the most needed supplies had been voted" (Wyon, *op. cit.*, ii, 257).

³ Throughout his career Sir Richard Levinge, who became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, exhibits the characteristics of a cautious lawyer rather than of an intrepid politician, and made the foundation of a family the first object of his ambition, which has been amply fulfilled in the long line of baronets who have succeeded to his title and estates. As a member of an old Derbyshire family, and as son of one who filled the position of Recorder of Chester ("Jottings of the Levinge Family," by Sir R. G. A. Levinge, Dublin, 1877), Levinge started life with an assured future, and soon after his call to the English bar succeeded to his father's office. While holding that position his political dexterity had a severe test, as it fell to his lot in 1687 to receive James II on his visit to Chester with a speech expressive of the most extraordinary submission and devotion, and in 1689 to represent that city in the first Parliament of William and Mary as a supporter of the principles of the Revolution (Fenwick's "History of Chester," p. 234). After the Battle of the Boyne he was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland, and was elected, no doubt on account of his knowledge of English parliamentary procedure, Speaker of the

quiries when the Parliament meets after this recess; and it is often in people's mouths that February will be a warm month; but this I can affirm nothing of, and I hope your Grace will distinguish between what I affirm, and what I report: as to the first, you may securely count upon it; the other you will please to take as it is sent.

Since the letter from the Bishops to the Duke of Ormond, I have been a much cooler solicitor; for I look upon myself no longer a deputed person. Your Grace may be fully satisfied that the thing is granted, because I had orders to report it to you from the Prime Minister. The rest is form, and may be done at any time. As for bringing the letter over myself, I must again profess to your Grace, that I do not regard the reputation of it at all;¹ perhaps I might if I were in Ireland; but, when I am on this side, a certain pride seizes me, from very different usage I meet with, which makes me look on things in another light. But besides I beg to tell your Grace in confidence, that the Ministry have desired me to continue here some time longer, for certain reasons, that I may sometime have the honour to tell you.² As for everybody's knowing what is done in the first fruits, it was I that told it; for, after I saw the Bishops' letter, I let every one know it in perfect spite,³

Irish House of Commons. In 1695 he was superseded, and while out of office was involved in the embroilments connected with the grants of the forfeited estates. During the Duke of Ormond's first viceroyalty he was reappointed Solicitor-General, and his removal by Wharton from that office, to which Swift makes allusion in his "Character of the Earl of Wharton" ("Prose Works," v, 26), was the ground on which his impeachment of Wharton was to be based. But Levinge, who had obtained interest by his return to the British Parliament as member for Derby at the recent General Election, had no wish to make enemies, and had formed the opinion, as events proved correctly, that without such a course the office of Attorney-General of Ireland lay within his grasp. After the death of Queen Anne he was for a time out of office, but his ability as a lawyer led ultimately to his elevation to the Irish judicial bench.

¹ *Supra*, p. 218.

² The reason was his instalment as editor of the "Examiner" (*supra*, p. 213, n. 2). According to Swift's own account ("Prose Works," v, 383) it was after the affair of the first fruits had been "fully despatched" when he offered to take his leave "as intending immediately to return to Ireland," that Harley asked him to assist the new Ministry with his pen. But as a matter of fact he had begun to edit the "Examiner" before the negotiations about the first fruits had been concluded.

³ *Supra*, p. 223, n. 4.

and told Mr. Harley and Mr. Secretary St. John so. However, in humble deference to your Grace's opinion, and not to appear sullen, I did yesterday complain to Mr. Secretary St. John, that Mr. Harley had not yet got the letter from the Queen to confirm the grant of the first fruits; that I had lost reputation by it; and that I took it very ill of them both; and that their excuses of Parliament business, and grief for the loss in Spain, were what I would bear no longer. He took all I said very well, and desired I would call on him to-morrow morning, and he would engage, if Mr. Harley had not done it, he himself would in a day or two.¹ As soon as there is any issue of this, I shall inform your Grace; and I have reason to think it is a trifle they will not refuse me.

I think I had from other hands some accounts of that ridiculous plot your Grace mentions, but it is not yet talked of here, neither have any of the Ministry mentioned a word of it to me, although they are well apprised of some affairs in Ireland; for I had two papers given me by a great man, one about the sentence of the defacers of the statue,² and the other about a trial before the Lord Chief Justice Brodrick,³ for some words in the North, spoken by a clergyman against the Queen. I suppose your Grace reckons upon a new Parliament in Ireland, with some alterations in the Council, the law, and the revenue. Your Grace is the most exact correspondent I ever had, and the Dean of St. Patrick's directly contrary, which I hope you will remember to say to him upon the occasion. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

I have read over this letter, and find several things re-

¹ Swift did not make St. John's acquaintance until the first two numbers of the "Examiner" under his auspices had been issued, and owed his introduction, as in the case of Harley, to Erasmus Lewis. But on the day before this letter was written he had dined for the fifth time with St. John, at whose table he met frequently the former managers of the "Examiner," Matthew Prior and John Freind, who combined politics and literature with the practice of medicine.

² The college students who had injured King William's statue in Dublin (*supra*, p. 196, n. 1) had been sentenced to stand before it in penitential guise, to pay a fine of £100 each, and to be imprisoned for six months.

³ *Supra*, p. 185, n. 3.

lating to affairs here, that are said in perfect confidence to your Grace: if they are told again, I only desire it may not be known from what hand they came.

XCVIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

January 4, 1710-11.

MY LORD,

HAVING writ to your Grace so lately, I only now make bold to let you know, that on Tuesday¹ I was to wait on Mr. Secretary St. John, who told me from Mr. Harley that I need not to be in pain about the first fruits, for the warrant was drawn in order towards a patent;² but must pass two several forms, and take up some time, for the Queen designs to make a grant by her letters patent.³ I shall take all due methods to hasten it as far as I am able; but in these cases they are generally pretty tedious. Mr. Harley likewise sent me the same day, by another person, the same message. I dined with him about four days ago; but there being much company, and he going away in haste pretty soon after dinner, he had not time to tell me so himself.⁴ Indeed he has been so ready to do everything in this matter as I would have him, that he never needed pressing; which, considering both the weight and difficulty of affairs at present on his shoulders, is very extraordinary, and what I never met from a great Minister before. I had thought, and so Mr. Harley told me, that the Queen would have sent a letter to the Bishops; but this is a shorter way, and I hope

¹ January 2nd.

² As arranged (*supra*, p. 229), on the previous Sunday Swift had waited on St. John with "a memorial to get the Queen's letter for the first fruits," and on calling again, as here mentioned, two days later, was assured by St. John that it was "granted and done, and past all dispute" ("Prose Works," ii, 87, 91).

³ To Stella Swift says, "in things the Queen gives they are always considerate," *i.e.*, given to consideration (*ibid.*, p. 91).

⁴ It was on the previous Sunday that Swift had dined with Harley. Is the ambiguity as to the date due to a desire to conceal the day from the Archbishop? The dinner was a large one, and in Swift's confession to Stella that he had not been "merry at all," there seems a consciousness that he would have been better elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 87).

your Grace will like it. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

I am told from a good hand, that in a short time the House of Commons will fall upon some inquiries into the late management. I took leave yesterday of Lord Peterborough, who, I suppose, is this day set out on his journey to Vienna; he is a little discouraged, and told me, he did not hope for any great success in what he went upon. He is one of those many who are mightily bent upon having some such inquiries made as I have mentioned.¹

XCIX. [*Original*.²]

HENRY ST. JOHN TO SWIFT

Sunday, past twelve, [*January 7, 1710-11*].³

THERE are few things I would be more industrious to bring about than opportunities of seeing you. Since you was here in the morning,⁴ I have found means of putting off the engagement I was under for to-morrow; so that I expect you to dine with me at three o'clock. I send you

¹ As Swift tells Stella, he had been with Peterborough (*supra*, p. 226) on the previous day, while that impetuous nobleman in the midst of "lawyers, attorneys, and hangdogs," prepared for his journey on the morrow, but hardly had this letter gone to the Archbishop when Swift learned that the Lords had sent an address to the Queen asking that Peterborough's departure might be delayed in order that he might be examined "about Spanish affairs," and adds, "so I writ to the Archbishop a lie; but I think it was not a sin" (*ibid.*, p. 94).

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ The date is added by Swift.

⁴ On the previous Friday morning Swift had been sent for in such haste by St. John (*supra*, p. 229, n. 1) that he had gone to him without waiting to shave, but he had found that light, no less than serious, conversation was the object of the summons, and when sent for on Sunday morning "he did not lose his shaving" before responding to the summons. The serious portion of the conversation seems to have been on Swift's side, and concerned the necessity of a peace, and the danger of pressing a little too hard on the Duke of Marlborough—a line which Swift took in the next number of the "Examiner." ✓

this early notice, to prevent you from any other appointment. I am ever, Reverend Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
H. ST. JOHN.

Addressed—To the Reverend Dr. Swift.

C. [*Draft*.¹]

SWIFT TO HENRY ST. JOHN

January 7, 1710-11.

SIR,

THOUGH I should not value such usage from a Secretary of State, and a great Minister; yet when I consider the person it comes from, I can endure it no longer. I would have you know, Sir, that if the Queen gave you a dukedom and the garter to-morrow, with the Treasury just at the end of them, I would regard you no more than if you were not worth a groat. I could almost resolve, in spite, not to find fault with my victuals, or be quarrelsome to-morrow at your table; but if I do not take the first opportunity to let all the world know some qualities in you that you take most care to hide, may my right hand forget its cunning. After which threatening, believe me, if you please, to be with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

CI. [*Hawkesworth and Copy*.²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *January 9, 1710-11.*

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of December the 30th by the last packets; it found me in the extremity of the gout, which

¹ Written on the back of the original of the preceding letter.

² As in previous cases the copy is contained in a volume of King's Correspondence much injured by damp, and is scarcely decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2). But fortunately it is sufficiently so to show that the concluding sentences of this letter and the succeeding one were transposed by Hawkesworth, whom subsequent editors have followed.

is the more cruel, because I have not had a fit of it for two years and a half.¹ I strain myself to give you an answer to-night, apprehending that as both my feet and knees are already affected, my hands may perhaps be so by the next post; and then, perhaps, I may not be able to answer you in a month, which might lose me some part of the praise you give me as a good correspondent.

As to my Lord Primate, he is much better since he was put into the government, and I reckon his life may be longer than mine; but, with God's help, hereafter I will say more on this subject.² As to what is reported of Mr. Stanhope's obstinacy, I demur, till satisfied how far the kindness to him, as a manager, influences the report.³

We have received an answer from his Grace the Duke of Ormond to our letter.⁴ It is in a very authentic and solemn form, that his Grace will take a proper time to lay our request before her Majesty, and know her pleasure on it. By which I conclude two things: first, that his Grace is not informed of any grant her Majesty has made; for if he had, he would have applied immediately and sent it; and then it would have passed for his, and he would have had the merit of it; secondly, that his Grace is in no haste about it. And therefore let me beseech you to solicit and press it, and get the letter dated, as when first it was promised: but I confess I have still some scruple in my mind about it.

I acknowledge you have not been treated with due regard in Ireland, for which there is a plain reason, *praegravat artes infra se positas*, etc. I am glad you meet with more due returns where you are: and as this is the time to make some use of your interest for yourself, do not forget it.

We have published here a Character of the Earl of Wharton, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.⁵ I have so much

¹ *Supra*, p. 51, n. 3.

² *Supra*, p. 225, n. 1.

³ *Supra*, p. 226, n. 1.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 217.

⁵ As already mentioned (*supra*, p. 188, n. 1) the "Short Character of His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," is dated 30 August, 1710. But in my opinion it was not written until shortly before its publication, and although not an uncongenial task, was undertaken by Swift as part of the policy on which he and the Tory ministers had agreed. It is in effect a repetition, without attempt at disguise, and in exhaustive detail, of charges made against Wharton under the character of Verres by Swift in the "Examiner," the organ of the Government, of the previous week ("Prose Works," ix, 100),

charity and justice as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of and punished; but to wound any man thus in the dark, to appeal to the mob, that can neither inquire nor judge, is a proceeding that I think the common sense of mankind should condemn. Perhaps he may deserve this usage, but a good man may fall under the same.

We expect a new Parliament and many changes, but I believe some we hear of will not be. Your observation of the two sentences is just.¹ You will pardon this gouty disjointed letter, and believe my respects are better than the expressions here. I am, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

CII. [*Hawkesworth and Copy.*']

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

January 13, 1710-11.

MY gout gives me leave yet to answer yours of the 4th instant, which was very acceptable to me; because I find by it some farther steps are made in our business. I believe it will take up some time and thoughts to frame a warrant, and much more a patent for such an affair. Except your lawyers there be of another humour than ours here, they will not write a line without their fees; and therefore I should think it necessary some fund should be thought of to fee them. If you think this motion pertinent, I can think of no other way at present to answer it, than, if you think

and owing to Wharton's power in elections (*cf.* "Memoirs of Wharton" already cited), as well as unscrupulous conduct, there was none of their opponents whom Harley's Ministry had more cause to fear. On 8 December, Swift announces to Stella the appearance of that "damned libellous pamphlet" ("Prose Works," ii, 68). It gives Wharton's character first, and then tells some of his actions, says Swift, the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. The character was Swift's work, the facts were supplied by others. Only to officials could they have been known, and the responsibility for them rested doubtless on two men, who were then in London and in close touch with Swift, Sir Richard Levinge (*supra*, p. 227, n. 3) and Captain Pratt ("Prose Works," ii, 65, and *supra*, p. 188, n. 2).

¹ *Supra*, p. 229.

² *Supra*, p. 232, n. 2.

it necessary, to allow you to draw upon me, and any bill to this purpose less than one hundred pounds, shall be punctually answered. I write thus, because I have no notion how such a thing should pass the offices without some money; and I have an entire confidence in you, that you will lay out no more than what is necessary.

I think your Ministers perfectly right to avoid all inquiry, and everything that would embroil them before the funds are found and agreed on. When this is over they may do what they please, and sure it will please them to see the crow stripped of her rapareed feathers. We begin to be in pain for the Duke of Marlborough.

I hear an answer is printing to the Earl of Wharton's Character.¹ Pray was there ever such licentiousness of the press as at this time? Will the Parliament not think of curbing it?² I heartily recommend you, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Your friends have their hands full; pray God direct and support them.

Dr. Swift.

CIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH

February [19], 1710-11.³

My LORD,⁴

I ENVY none of the Queen's subjects so much as those who are abroad: and I desire to know, whether, as great a

¹ On 18 January Swift tells Stella of a pamphlet "against something" written by him "very lately." He says "it is pretty civil, and affects to be so," from which Mr. Aitken ("The Journal to Stella," p. 131) thinks it cannot be identified with a tract entitled "The Honourable Descent, Life and True Character of the Earl of Wharton," which appeared in that year.

² It has been suggested that King suspected Swift to be the author of the "Character," but this paragraph hardly allows the possibility of suspicion on King's part.

³ A reference in the Journal to Stella supplies the date. The letter was the result of an arrangement between Peterborough and Swift that they were to be "mighty constant correspondents" ("Prose Works," ii, 92, 123).

⁴ On 13 January Peterborough had at last set out on his mission t

soul as your Lordship has, you did not observe your mind to open and enlarge, after you were some leagues at sea, and had left off breathing party air. I am apt to think this schism in politics has cloven our understandings, and left us but just half the good sense that blazed in our actions; and we see the effect it has had upon our wit and learning, which are crumbled into pamphlets and penny papers. The October Club, which was in its rudiments when your Lordship left us, is now growing up to be a party by itself, and begins to rail at the Ministry as much as the Whigs do, but from topics directly contrary. I am sometimes talked into frights, and told that all is ruined; but am immediately cured when I see any of the Ministry; not from the satisfaction they give me in any one point, but because I see them so perfectly easy, and I believe they could not be so if they had any fear at heart.¹ My comfort is, they are persons of great abilities, and they are engaged in a good cause. And what is one very good circumstance, as I told three of them the other day, they seem heartily to love one another, in spite of the scandal of inconstancy which Court friendships lie under.² And I can affirm to your Lordship, they heartily love you too; which I take to be a great deal more than when they assure you so themselves: for even statesmen will sometimes discover their passions, especially their good ones.

Here is a pamphlet come out, called, a Letter to Jacob Banks, showing that the liberty of Sweden was destroyed

Vienna (*supra*, p. 231, n. 1). As a result of the delay he went off with a vote of thanks from the House of Lords "for his great and eminent services" ringing in his ears, and with what was perhaps no less gratifying a recollection that the thanks to him had been accompanied by a vote of censure on his rival Lord Galway (*supra*, p. 73, n. 3).

¹ Of the "hundred Parliament men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the Parliament," there had been the day before mention to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 123), and their desire to "drive things on to extremes against the Whigs, to call the old Ministry to account, and get off five or six heads," had been admitted to cause Swift uneasiness, "although the Ministry seem not to regard them." See for further reference to the October Club, "Prose Works," v, 209.

² Two days before Swift had for the first time been invited to the weekly "cabinet" dinner at Harley's house, and it was no doubt then to Harley, St. John, and Lord Keeper Harcourt that Swift made this remark about their friendship—a friendship which was ere long to prove not more constant than others of the kind.

by the principle of passive obedience.¹ I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written: and in my opinion, not to be answered, otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the Tories are charged with. This dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write on each side, would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country: for, I dare swear, nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the Prince alone; and I hardly ever saw a Whig and a Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves.

My Lord, the Queen knew what she did, when she sent your Lordship to spur up a dull northern court: yet, I confess I had rather have seen that activity of mind and body employed in conquering another kingdom, or the same over again. I am, my Lord, etc.

CIV. [*Original*.²]

ROBERT NELSON TO SWIFT

Ash Wednesday,³ *February 22, 1710-11.*

REVEREND SIR,

I BEG leave to put you in mind of the inscription which you are to prepare for the Earl of Berkeley's monument.⁴

¹ This pamphlet, which was noticed in the "Examiner" ("Prose Works," ix, 200), is entitled "The History or present State of Sweden in a Letter to Sir J— B—, by Birth a Swede, but Naturaliz'd, and a M—r of the Present P—t" (Lond. 1711). Its author, William Benson, who figures in the "Dunciad," seems to have followed the various paths of a politician, critic, and architect not unsuccessfully, and of this pamphlet 100,000 copies are said to have been sold ("D. N. B.," iv, 261). "A Second Letter to Sir J— B—," and a reply entitled "The Letter to Sir J. B— Examined . . . by Irenaeus Philalethes," appeared also in that year.

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ This is characteristic of the writer, who, as has been mentioned, was the author of the "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England" (*supra*, p. 152).

⁴ The Earl of Berkeley (*supra*, p. 151) had died on 24 September, 1710, at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire. A few days previously Swift had received a letter from Lady Berkeley, begging him "for

My Lady Dowager¹ has determined to have it in Latin, so that I hope you want no farther directions towards the finishing of it.² The workman calls upon me for it, which is the reason of this trouble given you, by, Reverend Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ROBERT NELSON.

Addressed—To the Reverend Dr. Swift at his lodgings in St. Albans' Street.

CV. [*Sheridan*.]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *March 8, 1710-11.*

MY LORD,

I WRITE to your Grace under the greatest disturbance of mind for the public and myself. A gentleman came in where I dined this afternoon, and told us Mr. Harley was stabbed, and some confused particulars.³ I immediately ran to Secretary St. John's hard by, but nobody was at

charity" to come there as company for her husband who she hoped was then "in a fair way of recovery" from an attack of dropsy ("Prose Works," ii, 12, 20, 31). A tradition says that Swift was often at Berkeley, and wrote there his verses on Biddy Floyd, a native of that place (*supra*, p. 134, n. 6), but this tradition seems as doubtful as one that ascribes to him the inscription on the tomb of the Earl of Suffolk's fool, who died in 1728 when Swift was in Ireland ("History of Berkeley," by J. H. Cooke, p. 63).

¹ In the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 29550, ff. 131, 141) there are two letters, apparently written in 1680, from Lady Berkeley, who was a daughter of Baptist, third Viscount Campden, to the second wife of Christopher, first Viscount Hatton of Kirby. In one of them she gives a curious account of the clandestine marriage of her niece, Lady Alatheia Compton, to the son of Sir Edward Hungerford, a connection which only for the course pursued would not have been, she says, displeasing to the young lady's relations on account of the very considerable fortune which the youth was then expected to inherit, as well as on account of his handsome appearance.

² The inscription, a draft of which is written on the original of this letter, will be found in Appendix V.

³ Swift was dining with the eldest daughter of his friend the Earl of Pembroke, who had married Sir Nicholas Morice, and the gentleman who brought the news has been identified as Henry Arundell, who shortly afterwards succeeded his father as Baron Arundell of Wardour (Aitkin's "Journal to Stella," p. 166).

home; I met Mrs. St. John in her chair, who could not satisfy me, but was in pain about the Secretary, who as she heard, had killed the murderer. I went straight to Mr. Harley's where abundance of people were to inquire. I got young Mr. Harley to me: he said his father was asleep, and they hoped in no danger, and then told me the fact, as I shall relate it to your Grace.

This day the Marquis de Guiscard was taken up for high treason,¹ by a warrant of Mr. St. John, and examined before a committee of Council in Mr. St. John's office; where were present, the Dukes of Ormond, Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Earl Poulett, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and others.² During examination, Mr. Harley observed Guiscard, who stood behind him, but on one side, swearing and looking disrespectfully. He told him he ought to behave himself better, while he was examined for such a crime. Guiscard immediately drew a penknife out of his pocket, which he had picked out of some of the offices,³ and reaching round, stabbed him just under the breast, a little to the right side; but it pleased God that the point stopped at one of the ribs, and broke short half an inch. Immediately Mr. St. John rose, drew his sword, and ran it into Guiscard's breast. Five or six more of the Council drew and stabbed Guiscard in several places: but the Earl Poulett called out, for God's sake, to spare Guiscard's life, that he might be made an example; and Mr. St. John's sword was taken from him and broke; and the footmen without

¹ Additional information as to Antoine Guiscard and his crime is to be found in the "Prose Works," ix, 210, *et passim*.

² Of the statesmen mentioned, the Duke of Buckingham, who filled the office of Lord Steward, is the only one to whom there has not been previous reference. Unlike the other members of Harley's Ministry, he appears to have regarded Swift with disfavour. Swift said that he expected the Duke to make advances to him and that he had no desire for his acquaintance, but these assertions are rather confuted by the fact that he had called on the Duke and lauded him in the "Examiner." Later on Swift mentions that they were "terribly fallen out," apparently in some matter concerning Swift's enemy, the Duchess of Somerset ("Prose Works," *passim*).

³ The penknife, which had a tortoise-shell handle, is said to have been, when closed, "about the length of a man's little finger." Although Dr. Delany thought otherwise, the knife, as well as "the first plaster that was taken off the wound," was in possession of Swift until his death. Afterwards it was returned to Harley's representatives by Dr. Lyon (Scott's "Life," p. 189).

ran in, and bound Guiscard, who begged he might be killed immediately; and they say, called out three or four times, "my Lord Ormond, my Lord Ormond."¹ They say Guiscard resisted them a while, until the footmen came in.

Immediately Buissière the surgeon² was sent for, who dressed Mr. Harley: and he was sent home. The wound bled fresh, and they do not apprehend him in danger: he said, when he came home, he thought himself in none; and when I was there he was asleep, and they did not find him at all feverish. He has been ill this week, and told me last Saturday, he found himself much out of order, and has been abroad but twice since; so that the only danger is, lest his being out of order should, with the wound, put him in a fever; and I shall be in mighty pain till to-morrow morning. I went back to poor Mrs. St. John, who told me, her husband was with my Lord Keeper, at Mr. Attorney's,³ and she said something to me very remarkable: that going to-day to pay her duty to the Queen, when all the men and ladies were dressed to make their appearance, this being the day of the Queen's accession, the Lady of the Bedchamber in waiting told her the Queen had not been at church, and saw no company; yet, when she inquired her health, they said she was very well, only had a little cold. We conceive, the Queen's reasons for not going out, might be something about this seizing of Guiscard for high treason, and that perhaps there was some plot, or something extraordinary. Your Grace must have heard of this Guiscard: he fled from France for villanies

¹ "He implored the Duke of Ormond to despatch him, but his Grace turned coldly away. 'That is not the business of a gentleman,' he replied, 'but for someone else'" (see Wyon, who gives a graphic picture of the scene in the Council room, *op. cit.*, ii, 277).

² Paul Buissière, a French refugee who attained in London to eminence as a surgeon. He was called to the consultation on Queen Caroline's last illness.

³ On his appointment as Lord Keeper, Sir Simon Harcourt was succeeded in the position of Attorney General by Sir Edward Northey, who is included amongst the few holders of that office that have not received promotion to the judicial bench. In "The Fagot" ("Poetical Works") Swift says:

"Come, trimming Harcourt, bring your mace;
And squeeze it in, or quit your place;
Dispatch, or else that rascal Northey
Will undertake to do it for thee."

there, and was thought on to head an invasion of that kingdom, but was not liked. I know him well, and think him a fellow of little consequence, although of some cunning, and much villany. We passed by one another this day in the Mall, at two o'clock, an hour before he was taken up; and I wondered he did not speak to me.

I write all this to your Grace, because I believe you would desire to know a true account of so important an accident; and besides, I know you will have a thousand false ones; and I believe every material circumstance here is true, having it from young Mr. Harley. I met Sir Thomas Mansell¹—it was then after six this evening—and he and Mr. Prior² told me, they had just seen Guiscard carried by in a chair, with a strong guard, to Newgate, or the Press Yard.³ Time, perhaps, will show who was at the bottom of all this; but nothing could happen so unluckily to England, at this juncture, as Mr. Harley's death; when he has all the schemes for the greatest part of the supplies in his head, and the Parliament cannot stir a step without him. Neither can I altogether forget myself, who, in him, should lose a person I have more obligations to than any other in this kingdom; who has always treated me with the tenderness of a parent, and never refused me any favour I asked for a friend; therefore I hope your Grace will excuse the disorder of this letter. I was intending, this night, to write one of another sort.

I must needs say, one great reason for writing these particulars to your Grace was, that you might be able to give a true account of the fact, which will be some sort of

¹ Sir Thomas Mansell, who has been already noticed as one of the Ministers superseded after the unsuccessful Masham plot (*supra*, p. 74, n. 2), held the office of a Lord of the Treasury in the Tory Government. Owing to "slattery and negligence" Mansell's dinners were not up to the standard which Swift expected, but his company was sought by Swift in the Park and at the tables of the other Ministers ("Prose Works," *passim*).

² Since their meeting at Harley's table (*supra*, p. 213, n. 2) Matthew Prior had become one of Swift's most constant companions, and in the Journal to Stella we see them often complimenting one another for an hour or two on their "mutual wit and poetry," and walking in the Park as a remedy for the diverse complaints of corpulency and emaciation.

³ The Press Yard, where the *peine forte et dure* was inflicted, lay between the Old Bailey Sessions House and Newgate.

service to Mr. Harley. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I have read over what I writ, and find it confused and incorrect, which your Grace must impute to the violent pain of mind I am in, greater than ever I felt in my life. It must have been the utmost height of desperate guilt which could have spirited that wretch to such an action. I have not heard whether his wounds are dangerous; but I pray God he may recover, to receive his reward, and that we may learn the bottom of his villany. It is not above ten days ago, that I was interceding with the Secretary in his behalf, because I heard he was just starving; but the Secretary assured me he had four hundred pounds a year pension.¹

CVI. [*Hawkesworth and Copy.*²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *March 17, 1710-11.*

REVEREND SIR,

I RETURN you my thanks for yours of the 8th instant. I do not wonder that you were in some confusion when you writ it; for I assure you I read it with great horror, which such a fact is apt to create in everybody, that is not hardened in wickedness. I received several other letters with narratives of the same, and seen some, that came to other hands; but none so particular, or that could be so well depended upon. I observe, that, among them all, there is no account of the matters laid to Guiscard's charge, of his design, or how he came to be discovered. I suppose those are yet secrets, as it is fit they should be. I do remember something of this Guiscard; and that he was to head an invasion; and that he published a very foolish narrative;³ but neither remember exactly the time, or under what Ministry it was, or who were his patrons.

¹ It was, however, not paid with regularity.

² Although very difficult to decipher (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2), the copy has enabled some corrections to be made in the printed version.

³ "Memoires du Marquis de Guiscard, dans lesquels est contenu

It seems convenient, that these should be known; because it is reported, that Mr. H[arley] and Mr. St. J[ohn] were those who chiefly countenanced him, and he their peculiar favourite. One would think this should convince the world, that Mr. H[arley] is not in the French interest, but it has not yet had that effect withal: nay some whisper the case of Faenius Rufus, and Scaevinus in the fifteenth book of Tacitus,¹ *quem eundem conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabant*. Mr. St. J[ohn] is condemned for wounding Guiscard: and had he killed him, there would not have wanted some to suggest, that it was done on purpose, lest he should tell tales.

We had a strange piece of news by last packet, that the address to her Majesty met with but a cold reception from one party in the House of Commons; and that all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, of that party, went out when it passed in the Lords' House.² But I make it a rule, never to believe party news, except I have it immediately from a sure hand.

I was in hopes to have heard something of our first fruits and twentieth parts; but I doubt that matter sleeps, and that it will be hard to awaken it.

You will expect no news from home. We eat and drink as we used to do. The parties are tolerably silent, but those for the late Ministry seem to be united, keep much together, and are so wise as not to make much noise:³ nor have I heard anything of their sentiments of late, only what has happened on this accident. I heartily recommend you to God's care. I am, etc.

Dr. Swift.

W. D[UBLIN].

le récit des enterprises qu'ils a faites dans le Roiaume et hors du Roiaume de France, pour le recouvrement de la liberté de sa Patrie" (Delft, 1705).

¹ Taciti Annalium lib. xv, cap. 66.

² On 9 March, as Luttrell quaintly records (*op. cit.*, vi, 700), "the Commons resolved that an address be presented to her Majesty that they will effectually stand by and defend her person, and those employed under her, against all attempts of her enemies; that she will please to take care of herself, and issue a proclamation to banish all Papists ten miles from London; to which address the Lords also agreed." Wyon says (*op. cit.*, ii, 279) that "many of the Whigs preferred to absent themselves from their seats rather than to vote upon this occasion."

³ On this passage Scott notes ("Works," xv, 430), "Archbishop King is always anxious to represent the Whig interest as formidable."

CVII. [*Original.*¹]

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO SWIFT

Vienna, *April* 18 [O.S. 6], 1711.SIR,²

I HAVE often with pleasure reflected upon the glorious possibilities of the English constitution; but I must apply to politics a French expression appropriated by them to beauty: there is a *je ne sais quoi* among us, which makes us troublesome with our learning, disagreeable with our wit, poor with our wealth, and insignificant with our power.

I could never despise anybody for what they have not, and am only provoked, when they make not the right use of what they have. This is the greatest mortification, to know the advantages we have by art and nature, and see them disappointed by self-conceit and faction. What patience could bear the disappointment of a good scheme by the October Club?

I have with great uneasiness received imperfect accounts of a disagreement among ourselves. The party we have to struggle with has strength enough to require our united endeavours. We should not attack their firm body like hussars. Let the victory be secure before we quarrel for the spoils; let it be considered whether their yoke were easy, or their burden light. What! must there ever be in St. Stephen's chapel, a majority either of knaves or fools?

But seriously, I have long apprehended the effects of that universal corruption, which has been improved with so much care, and has so fitted us for the tyranny designed, that we are grown, I fear, insensible of slavery, and almost unworthy of liberty.

The gentlemen, who give you no other satisfaction in politics than the appearances of ease and mirth, I wish I could partake with them in their good humour: but tokay itself has no effect upon me while I see affairs so unsettled; faction so strong, and credit so weak; and all

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² This letter is a reply to Swift's letter to Lord Peterborough of 19 February (*supra*, p. 235). It reached Swift on 20 April, and on that day in the *Journal to Stella*, Swift notes that Peterborough writes so well that he has no mind to answer him, and so kind that he must answer him ("Prose Works," ii, 160).

services abroad under the truest difficulties by past miscarriages and present want of money; but we are told here, that in the midst of victory, orders are given to sound a parley, I will not say a retreat. Give me leave to tell the churchman, that there is not in¹

I have rid the resty horse you say they gave me, in ploughed lands, till I have made him tame.² I wish they manage the dull jades as well at home, and get them forward either with whip or spur. I depend much upon the three you mention; if they remember me with kindness, I am theirs by the two strongest ties, I love them, and hate their enemies.

Yet you seem to wish me other work. It is time the statesmen employ me in my own trade, not theirs. If they have nothing else for me to subdue, let me command against that rank Whiggish puppet-show. Those junto pigmies, if not destroyed, will grow up to giants. Tell St. John, he must find me work in the old world or the new.

I find Mr. Harley forgets to make mention of the most important part of my letter to him; which was to let him know, that I expected immediately for one Dr. Swift, a lean bishopric, or a fat deanery.³ If you happen to meet that gentleman at dinner, tell him, that he has a friend out of the way of doing him good, but that he would, if he could, whose name is

PETERBOROUGH.

Addressed—For the Rev. Dr. Swift, Bishop of — or Dean of —, etc.

¹ Some words are here obliterated.

² As has been mentioned, the primary object of Peterborough's mission was to relieve the Ministry of his presence in London (*supra*, p. 226, n. 3), but the nominal end was to bring about more cordial relations between the Emperor of Germany and the Duke of Savoy. It is remarkable that there is no reference in this letter to the death of the Emperor, Joseph I, which took place the day before the letter was written. According to Professor Laughton ("D. N. B.," xxxviii, 400) Peterborough was at Turin when the Emperor's death occurred.

³ Writing from Ratisbon on 15 February Peterborough says to Harley, "I had rather have three lines from Dr. Swift this moment than all that ever was published in the Louvre print. But by the bye, if you do not immediately make a rich Dean or a poor Bishop of the Reverend aforesaid, send him to me that he may be a Cardinal" (Strong's "Catalogue of Letters at Welbeck," Lond., 1903, p. 107).

CVIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *April 10, 1711.*

MY LORD,

I HAD lately the honour of a letter from your Grace,¹ and waited to acknowledge it until something material should happen, that might recompense the trouble. My occasion of writing to you at present is purely personal to your Grace. A report was beginning to run here, by some letters from Ireland, that your Grace had applied the passage you mention of Rufus, in a speech you made to your clergy, which I ventured to contradict, as an impossibility, and inconsistent with your general opinion, and what was in your letter. Mr. Southwell² and Mr. Dopping³ were of the same mind; and the former says, he has writ to your Grace about it.

I should have thought no more of the matter, but let it spend like an idle story below notice: only dining last Sunday with one of the principal Secretaries of State, he gave me a letter to read, which he had just received from the printer of the newspaper called the "Post-boy," in which was a transcript of a letter from Dublin; and the Secretary being mentioned in that transcript, the man would not publish it without his advice. It contained an account how the news of Mr. Harley's being stabbed had been received by the Whigs in Dublin: of which he produced some instances.⁴ Then he mentions the passage out of Tacitus, and concludes thus: "The first that mentioned it was the Archbishop of Dublin, who took notice of it first at a meeting of his clergy; and afterward, in the hearing of several persons, was reprimanded for it in a civil

¹ *Supra*, p. 242.² *Supra*, p. 211, n. 4.³ *Supra*, p. 91, n. 4.⁴ Under 8 April Swift notes in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 153), "I dined to-day with Mr. Secretary St. John," and mentions that the letter from Dublin gave "an account of what the Whigs said upon Mr. Harley's being stabbed, and how much they abuse him and Mr. Secretary St. John."

though sharp manner, by one of the chief ministers there, well known for his steady loyalty to her Majesty, and his zealous service to the Church of England, under her late perilous trial."

I immediately told the Secretary, that I knew this must be false and misrepresented, and that he must give me leave to scratch out that passage, which I accordingly did; and for fear of any mistake, I made him give me afterward the whole letter, that I might have it in my power. The next day I sent for the printer, and told him what I had done; and upon farther thoughts I stifled the whole letter, and the Secretary approved of it. I likewise told the printer, that when he had anything relating to Ireland, I had the Secretary's order, which was true, to send it me, that he might not do injury to men's reputations, by what was represented to him from ignorant or malicious hands in that kingdom. The letter was to have been printed this day in the "Post-boy," with that conclusion reflecting on your Grace, which is happily prevented; for, although your character and station place you above the malice of little people, yet your friends would be extremely concerned to see your name made so bold with in a common newspaper.

I humbly hope your Grace will not disapprove of what I have done: at least, I have gratified my own inclination, in the desire of serving you; and besides, had the opportunity of giving Mr. Secretary some part of your character. I dare lay a wager, that all this happened by the gross understandings of some people, who misunderstood and misapplied something very innocent that came from your Grace. I must be so bold to say, that people in that kingdom do very ill understand railery. I can rally much safer here with a great Minister of State or a duchess, than I durst do there with an attorney or his wife. And I can venture to rally with your Grace, although I could not do it with many of your clergy. I myself have been a witness, when want of common sense has made people offended with your Grace, where they ought to have been the most pleased. I say things every day at the best tables, which I should be turned out of company for if I were in Ireland.

Here is one Mr. Richardson, a clergyman, who is soliciting an affair that I find your Grace approves; and there-

fore I do him all the service I can in it.¹ We are now full of the business of the Irish yarn: and I attend among the rest, to engage the members I am acquainted with in our interest. To-morrow we expect it will come on.²

I will shortly write to your Grace some account how public affairs stand; we hope Mr. Harley will be well in a week. We have news from Brussels that the Dauphin is dead of an apoplexy.³ I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I wish your Grace would enclose your commands to me, directed to Erasmus Lewis, Esq.⁴ at my Lord Dartmouth's office at Whitehall; for I have left off going to coffee-houses.

CIX. [Scott.]

SWIFT TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

London, *April* 16, 1711.

MY LORD,⁵

THIS comes to interrupt your Grace a few minutes in the conquest of a kingdom, and to let the Duke of Anjou

¹ The Rev. John Richardson, who had been introduced a few weeks before by Swift to the Duke of Ormond ("Prose Works," ii, 132), was the active agent in a movement for the conversion of the Roman Catholics of Ireland by means of Irish-speaking clergymen and the distribution of Bibles and Prayer Books printed in the Irish language. He was evidently a scholarly as well as energetic man ("D. N. B.," xlviii, 228).

² In the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*) there are allusions to a bill for imposing a duty on Irish yarn, which was then before the British House of Commons, and in connection with it Swift gives an amusing picture of the lobbying of that day. Southwell mentions also in one of his letters the efforts made to influence the members, and says that the Lord Lieutenant was amongst those who "solicited heartily" in the lobby (Departmental Correspondence in P. R. O. of Ireland).

³ The Dauphin, then fifty years of age, died of the small-pox.

⁴ Erasmus Lewis (*supra*, p. 200, n. 4) was Under Secretary of State to Lord Dartmouth (*supra*, p. 212, n. 3).

⁵ On 24 February it was announced that "the Duke of Argyll has ordered his equipage to be got ready with all expedition for Spain, where he goes her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and General

keep the crown so much longer on his head. I owe you this piece of malice, because you have ruined the reputation of my pride, being the first great man for whose acquaintance I made any great advances; and you have need to be what you are, and what you will be, to make me easy after such a condescension. Remember, my Lord, I have pointed you out these six years to make a hero. Take some care of your life, and a great deal of your health; and if Spain be to be conquered,—*si Pergama dextra defendi possint*—you are the man. The greatest of the Scipios began his glories at your age, in that country. But I am afraid the Spaniards, when your Grace has conquered them, will remember the climate you came from, and call you Goth.

I am glad to find the Ministry here upon all occasions talking with so much justice and friendship of your Grace; and, as much as one can promise from the dispositions of a Court, I have reason to believe your Grace's expectations will be answered from hence as fully as possible. The talk is hot among us of some sudden changes and promotions, and I am inclined to believe something of it. We expect Mr. Harley will be Treasurer, and, by that and other steps, the Ministry more fixed than it seems at present. Mr. Harley now sees some of his friends, begins to talk of business, and will take the air in a day or two. Mr. St. John has been out of order with gravel, and we have forbid him burgundy and champagne wines, which he very unwillingly complies with. The Queen is well enough to go abroad every day. The October Club grumbles still, and wants a thorough change. New toasts arise daily, and I am afraid, if your Grace be two years conquering Spain, you will meet, at your return, with a set entirely new.

I send this by Mr. Harris, your Grace's chaplain, and I desire he may be your historian.¹ I have known him these

of her Forces there, attended by several Scottish gentlemen as volunteers" (Luttrell, *op. cit.*, vi, 694), and on 19 March Swift says that "the Duke of Argyll is gone." It seems probable that it was on his previous visit to London that Swift had become acquainted with him (see "Prose Works," *passim*). At the time Swift wrote this letter he loved the Duke "mightily," but a few years later he denounced the Duke as an "ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot who has no principle but his own interest and greatness."

¹ Possibly Samuel Harris, who became first Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge ("D. N. B.," xxv, 24).

three years. He has a great deal of merit, and I envy his being so near your Grace, who will be sure to distinguish it. You will find him full of good manners, and good sense, and possessed with the highest veneration for your Grace's person and virtues. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

CX. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *April* 19, 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAD the favour of yours of the 10th instant, by which I understand how much I am obliged to you for the justice you did me as to the report you let me know was about to be printed in the "Post-boy" relating to Mr. Harley.

I think there is no man in this kingdom, on which such a report could be fixed with less colour of truth, having been noted for the particular regard I have always had for him. I have suffered in some cases too, for my zeal to defend him in the worst of times; for I confess I never could, with patience, bear the treatment he met with in Gregg's affair. The truth is, when I received the news of this last barbarous attempt made on him, I with indignation insulted some with whom I used to dispute about the former case, and asked them, whether they would now suspect that he was in the conspiracy to stab himself? The turn they gave it was what I wrote to you, that they imagined he might be in it notwithstanding that; and that his discovering Guiscard, and pressing so hard on the examination, was the thing that provoked the man to such a degree of rage, as appeared in that villanous act. And they instanced the story of Piso in Tacitus, and the passage of Rufus.¹ I know very well that they did not believe themselves, and among other things I applied that passage of Hudibras, he that beats out his brains, etc.² I believe I have told this passage

¹ Taciti Annalium lib. ii et xv.

² "For he that hangs, or beats out's brains,
The Devil's in him if he feigns."

—*Hudibras*, II, i, 498.

to several as an example, to show into what absurdities the power of prejudice, malice, and faction will lead some men, I hope with good effect; and added, as several gentlemen that heard me can witness, that it was a strange thing, that Mr. Harley should discover Gregg, and have him hanged, and yet be suspected to be partaker of his crime: but altogether unaccountable, that in a cause, wherein his life was so barbarously struck at it was a thousand to one if he escaped, he should still be under the suspicion of being a party with his murderer; so that I could never imagine, that any one should report, that I spoke my own sense in a matter wherein I expressed so great an abhorrence, both of the fact, and the vile comment made upon it. As to any speech at the meeting of the clergy, or any reprimand given me by any person on this account, it is all, assure yourself, pure invention.

I am sensible of the favour you did me, in preventing the publishing of such a false report, and am most thankful to Mr. Secretary St. John for stopping it. I have not the honour to be known to him, otherwise I would give him the trouble of a particular acknowledgment. As to Mr. Harley, I have had the happiness to have some knowledge of him, and received some obligations from him, particularly on the account of my Act of Parliament, that I obtained for the restitution of Seatown to the see of Dublin.¹ I always had a great honour for him, and expected great good from his known abilities, and zeal for the common interest; and as I believe he was the principal instrument of settling things on the present foot, so I believe every one, that wishes well to these kingdoms, is satisfied, that there is not any man, whose death would be a greater loss to the public than his. The management of this Parliament has, if not reconciled his worst enemies to him, at least silenced them; and it is generally believed that his misfortune has much retarded public affairs.

¹ These lands which are situated near Swords (*supra*, p. 119, n. 1) had been granted by the Crown after the Restoration in augmentation of the see of Dublin. From neglect and legal difficulties, the occupants of the see never obtained any benefit from them, and finally, in 1703, they were sold by the Trustees of Forfeited Estates. Archbishop King became the purchaser for £3,105, and with characteristic generosity took steps immediately to obtain an Act of the English Parliament to secure them for all time to his successors (15th Report of the Commissioners of the Public Records of Ireland, p. 359).

I partly can guess who writ the letter you mention: it must be one of two or three, whose business it is to invent a lie, and throw dirt ever since I was obliged by my duty to call them to account for their negligence and ill practices: they have published and dispersed several libellous prints against me, in one of which I marked forty-three downright falsehoods in matters of fact. In another, it is true, there was only one such; the whole and every part of it, from beginning to end, being pure invention and falsehood. But, to my comfort, they are despised by all good men; and I like myself nothing less for being the object of their hate. You will excuse this long letter, and I hope I may, by next, apprise you with something of consequence. In the meantime, I heartily recommend you, etc.

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

I held my visitation on the 9th instant, where you were excused,¹ as absent on the public business of the Church.

CXI. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH

May 4, 1711.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of your Lordship's letter,² and by the first lines of it have made a discovery that your Lordship is come into the world about eighteen hundred years too late, and was born about half a dozen degrees too far to the north, to employ that public virtue I always heard you did possess: which is now wholly useless, and which those very few that have it are forced to lay aside, when they would have business succeed.

Is it not some comfort, my Lord, that you meet with the same degeneracy of manners, and the same neglect of the public, among the honest Germans, though in the philosopher's phrase, differently modified, and I hope, at least, we have one advantage, to be more polite in our corruptions than they?

¹ As a Prebendary of St. Patrick's (*supra*, p. 180, n. 1).

² *Supra*, p. 244.

Our divisions run farther than perhaps your Lordship's intelligence has yet informed you of, that is [to] a triumvirate of our friends whom I have mentioned to you: I have told them more than once, upon occasion, that all my hopes of their success depended on their union, that I saw they loved one another, and hoped they would continue it, to remove that scandal of inconstancy ascribed to Court friendships. I am not now so secure.¹ I care not to say more on such a subject, and even this *entre nous*. My credit is not of a size to do any service on such an occasion; but as little as it is, I am so ill a politician, that I will venture the loss of it to prevent this mischief; the consequence of which I am as good a judge of as any Minister of State, and perhaps a better, because I am not one.

When you writ your letter, you had not heard of Guiscard's attempt on Mr. Harley: supposing you know all the circumstances, I shall not descant upon it. We believe Mr. Harley will soon be Treasurer, and be of the House of Peers;² and then we imagine the Court will begin to deal out employments, for which every October member is a

¹ Already Swift found that he had spoken too quickly in attributing to Harley's Ministry an exceptional unity (*supra*, p. 236), and just a week before this letter was written had deplored to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 164) that St. John stood "a little ticklish with the rest of the Ministry." This discord was thought by Swift to be due to "one or two disobliging things" that had happened, and to the part taken by St. John in a debate upon the management of the Treasury by the late Government, during which zeal in the defence of Brydges, the Paymaster of the Forces (*supra*, p. 74, n. 2), who was his particular friend, had led St. John into much indiscretion. But the truth was, as Churton Collins says ("Bolingbroke," p. 66), that "while Harley was confined to his chamber by the knife of Guiscard, the subordinate had passed into the rival." The attitude of political parties after that event had convinced St. John of "the ruinous folly of trimming and equivocating"—the policy always pursued by Harley—and from that time he was continually breaking away from his leader. Generally, of course, his restlessness was evinced by his support of the extreme Tory party, but occasionally, with strange inconsistency, it was manifested, as in the case of his defence of Brydges, by a speech favourable to the Whigs.

² On 6 April Peter Wentworth had written ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 191) to his brother, Lord Raby, who was shortly afterwards created Earl of Strafford, that "there is no news abroad but the talk of Mr. Harley's come out with a white staff when he goes abroad, and not into the House of Commons, but into the House of Lords." Swift alludes also at that time in the Journal to Stella to these rumours, but not in so explicit a manner ("Prose Works," ii, 155).

candidate; and consequently nine in ten must be disappointed; the effect of which we may find in the next session. Mr. Harley was yesterday to open to the House the ways he has thought of, to raise funds for securing the unprovided debts of the nation; and we are all impatient to know what his proposals are.¹

As to the imperfect account you say you have received of disagreement among ourselves, your Lordship knows that the names of Whig and Tory have quite altered their meanings. All who were for turning out the late Ministry, we now generally call Tories; and in that sense, I think it plain that there are among the Tories three different interests: one, of those, I mean the Ministry, who agree with your Lordship and me, in a steady management for pursuing the true interests of the nation; another is, that of warmer heads, as the October Club and their adherents without doors: and a third is, I fear, of those who, as your Lordship expresses it, would sound a parley, and who would make fair weather in case of a change; and some of these last are not inconsiderable.

Nothing can be more obliging than your Lordship's remembering to mention me in your letters to Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, when you are in the midst of such great affairs. I doubt I shall want such an advocate as your Lordship; for I believe, every man who has modesty or merit, is but an ill one for himself. I desire but the smallest of those titles you give me on the outside of your letter.² My ambition is to live in England, and with a competency to support me with honour. The Ministry know by this time whether I am worth keeping; and it is easier to provide for ten men in the Church, than one in a civil employment.

But I renounce England and deaneries, without a promise from your Lordship, under your own hand and seal, that I shall have the liberty to attend you whenever I please. I foresee we shall have a peace next year, by the same sagacity that I have often foreseen when I was young, I must leave the town in a week, because my money is gone, and I can borrow no more. Peace will bring your

¹ "It consisted in funding the debt, which amounted on one branch or another of the service to nearly nine millions and a half, at six per cent. interest" (Wyon, *op. cit.*, ii, 285).

² *Supra*, p. 245.

Lordship home: and we must have you to adorn your country, when you shall be no longer wanted to defend it. I am, my Lord, etc.

JON. SWIFT.

CXII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

Chelsea,¹ May 10, 1711.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had your Grace's letter, of April 19th, some time by me, but deferred my answer until I could give some account of what use I had made of it. I went immediately to Mr. Secretary St. John, and read most of it to him; he was extremely satisfied, and very glad that scandalous account, designed to be printed in the "Post-boy," was suppressed. Mr. Harley was then not quite well enough; so I ventured, and hope your Grace will not disapprove it, to show your letter to a gentleman who has a great respect for your Grace, and who told me several others of Ireland were possessed of that report. I trusted the letter with him, and gave him leave to read it to them, which he told me he did, and that they were all entirely convinced: and indeed, as far as I can find, the report is quite blown over, and has left no impression.

While your Grace's letter was out of my hands, dining with Mr. Harley, he said to me, almost as soon as he saw me, "How came the Archbishop of Dublin and I to fall out?" I told him, I knew what he meant; but your Grace was altogether misrepresented; and it must come from some infamous rascals, of which there never wants a set in that kingdom, who make it their business to send wrong characters here, etc. He answered, that he believed and knew it was as I said. I added, that I had the honour to be long known to your Grace, and that you were the last man in the kingdom upon whom such a report could be

¹ On 26 April Swift had removed from London to lodgings in what was at that time the riverside village of Chelsea for his health, as he explains at the end of this letter, and remained there for the next two months, walking each day through "the flowery meads" that lay then between that place and the metropolis.

fixed with any probability; and that, since he was pleased to mention this matter first, he must give me leave, the next time I saw him, to read a letter I had from your Grace in answer to one of mine, wherein I had told you of such a report. He said, there was no need, for he firmly believed me. I answered smiling, that should not do, for I would never suffer a person for whom I had so great an esteem, to lie under the least suspicion of anything wrong.¹

Last Saturday, after dinner, I was again to wait on him. On that day of the week, my Lord Keeper, my Lord Rivers, and Mr. Secretary St. John, always used to dine with him before this accident; and sometimes they used to let me be of the company.² This was the first Saturday they had met since his recovery; and I was in such joy to see the old club met again, that it affects me still, as your Grace sees by my impertinence in mixing it with an account that only relates to yourself. I read those parts of your letter to him which I thought proper, and both he and the company did very frankly acquit your Grace; and Mr. Harley in particular spoke a good deal of his respect and esteem for you; and then he repeated, that it was no new thing to receive lies from Ireland: which I doubt is so true, that no man of distinction in that kingdom is safe; and I wish it were possible to take some course to prevent the evil.

As for libels upon your Grace, bating my concern for the souls of the writers, I should give you joy of them. You would less deserve your station, if knaves and fools did not hate you; and while these sects continue, may your Grace and all good men be the object of their aversion.

My Lord Keeper, Mr. Harley, and one or two more, are immediately to be made peers: the town has been expecting it for some time, although the Court make it yet a secret: but I can assure your Grace of the truth, for the preambles to their patents are now drawing, and I saw a

¹ Notwithstanding these words Swift had then a suspicion that the Archbishop was "a little guilty," and afterwards accepted as true an assurance from Lord Anglesey that the Archbishop had compared Harley with Piso ("Prose Works," ii, 165, 337). The fact was that the Archbishop repeated so often the remark made by some one else that it began to be regarded as his own.

² Swift can only have dined at the "cabinet" dinners, which, as he says, many thought to be of greater consequence than they were, three times before Guiscard's attack on Harley (*supra*, p. 236, n. 2).

very handsome one for Mr. Harley.¹ You will please not to mention this particular, although it will be soon public, but it is yet kept mighty private. Mr. Harley is to be Lord Treasurer. Perhaps before the post leaves this town, all this will be openly told, and then I may be laughed at for being so mysterious: but so capricious are great men in their secrets. The first authentic assurances I had of these promotions was last Sunday; though the expectation has been strong for above a month. We suppose likewise that many changes will be made in the employments as soon as the session ends, which will be, I believe, in less than a fortnight.

Poor Sir Cholmondeley Deering of Kent, was yesterday in a duel shot through the body, by one Mr. Thornhill, in Tothill-fields, and died in some hours.²

I never mention anything of the first fruits either to Mr. Harley or the Duke of Ormond. If it be done before his Grace goes over, it is well, and there is an end: if not, I shall have the best opportunity of doing it in his absence. If I should speak of it now, perhaps it would be so contrived as to hinder me from soliciting it afterward; but as soon as the Duke is gone, I shall learn at the Treasury what he has done in it. I have been at this town this fortnight for my health, and to be under a necessity of walking to and from London every day. But your Grace will please still to direct your letters under cover to Mr. Lewis. I am, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and obliged humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

¹ Writing on 29 May to his brother, Peter Wentworth says ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 201): "I have sent you the preamble of the Earl of Oxford's patent which they tell me was drawn by Dr. Freind one of the schoolmasters of Westminster, who is reckoned to have a very correct style in the Latin. It is printed with the English translation, so I have sent that too, which I think was very well done." It has been said by some persons that Swift was the author of the preamble, and it seems not improbable that he had a share in its composition and was responsible for the English version as he was then often with Dr. Robert Freind's brother (*supra*, p. 229, n. 1).

² There is a longer reference to this duel, and an account of a subsequent encounter in which Thornhill lost his life, in the *Journal to Stella* ("Prose Works," ii, 173, 225). Swift says to Stella that Deering was to have been married in the following week to "a fine young lady," but according to G. E. C. ("Complete Baronetage," ii, 71) he had been married some years and his wife survived him.

CXIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO HENRY ST. JOHN

Chelsea, May 11, 1711.

SIR,

BEING convinced, by certain ominous prognostics, that my life is too short to permit me the honour of ever dining another Saturday with Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, or Robert Harley, Esq., I beg I may take the last farewell of those two gentlemen to-morrow.¹ I made this request on Saturday last, unfortunately after you were gone; and they, like great statesmen, pretended they could do nothing in it without your consent; particularly my Lord Keeper, as a lawyer, raised innumerable difficulties, although I submitted to allow you an hour's whispering before dinner, and an hour after. My Lord Rivers would not offer one word in my behalf, pretending he himself was but a tolerated person.² The Keeper alleged, you could do nothing but when all three were capitularly met, as if you could never open but like a parish chest, with the three keys together. It grieves me to see the present Ministry thus confederated to pull down my great spirit.

Pray, Sir, find an expedient. Finding expedients is the business of Secretaries of State. I will yield to any reasonable conditions not below my dignity. I will not find fault with the victuals; I will restore the water-glass that I stole, and solicit for my Lord Keeper's salary. And, Sir, to show you I am not a person to be safely injured, if you dare refuse me justice in this point, I will appear before you in a pudding-sleeve gown, I will disparage your snuff, write a lampoon upon Nably Car,³ dine with you upon a foreign post-day; nay, I will read verses in your presence, until you snatch them out of my hands.⁴ Therefore pray, Sir, take

¹ The following day was Saturday. It was not, however, until the 24th of that month that the patent creating Harley a peer as Earl of Oxford was passed.

² Lord Rivers (*supra*, p. 227, n. 1) had been "chid" by Swift for intruding at these dinners ("Prose Works," ii, 122).

³ Possibly Billy Carr, who was appointed a Groom of the Bed-chamber to George I ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 419).

⁴ The allusion is apparently to an occasion on which Swift had

pity upon me and yourself; and believe me to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

CXIV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, May 15, 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAD the favour of yours of the 10th instant, by the last packets, and cannot return you sufficient acknowledgment for your kind and prudent management of that affair so much to my advantage. I confess that I did not much fear that such a vile report would do me any great injury with Mr. Harley; for I was persuaded he is too wise to believe such an incredible story. But the publishing it to the world might have influenced some to my disadvantage; and no man can be well pleased to be the subject of a libel, though it often happens to be the fate of honest men.

I doubt not but you will hear of an unlucky contest in the city of Dublin about their mayor. You may remember—I think whilst you were here, that is, in 1709—Alderman Constantine, by a cabal, for so I must call it, lost his election; and a junior alderman, one Forrest, was elected mayor for the ensuing year. Constantine petitioned the Council Board not to approve the election; for you must know, by the new rules, settled in pursuance of an Act of Parliament for the better regulation of Corporations, their chief officers must be approved of by the Governor and Council after they are elected, before they can enter into any of their respective offices; and if not approved of in ten days, the Corporation that chose them must go to a new election. Now, Alderman Constantine, upon the Corporation's return of Forrest, complained of it as wrong, and desired to be

teased Prior by reading at Harley's table some verses by his friend "without any fine manner," and had excused himself by saying he was "famous for reading verses the worst in the world" ("Prose Works," ii, 87).

¹ There is a copy in King's Correspondence, but as in previous cases only partly decipherable (*supra*, p. 121, n. 2).

heard by counsel; but my Lord Wharton, then Lord Lieutenant, would not admit it. This passed on to the year 1710, and then the present mayor was chosen, Alderman Eccles, another junior alderman; and this year one Alderman Barlow, a tailor, another junior.

Constantine, finding the government altered, supposed he should have more favour, and petitions again of the wrong done him. The city replied, and we had two long hearings. The matter depended on an old by-law, made about the twelfth of Queen Elizabeth; by which the aldermen, according to their ancientry, are required to keep their mayoralty, notwithstanding any licenses or orders to the contrary. Several dispensations and instances of contrary practices were produced; but with a salvo, that the law of succession should stand good; and some aldermen, as appeared, had been disfranchised for not submitting to it, and holding their mayoralty. On the contrary, it was urged, that this rule was made in a time when the mayoralty was looked upon as a great burden, and the senior aldermen got licenses from serving it, and by faction and interest got it put on the junior and poorer, and most of the aldermen were then Papists, and being obliged, on accepting the office, to take the oath of supremacy, and come to church, they declined it; but the case was now altered, and most were ambitious of it, and a rule or by-law, that imposed it as a duty and burden, must be understood to oblige them to take it, but could not oblige the electors to put it on them; that it was often dispensed with, and, as alleged, altogether abrogated by the new rules, that took the election out of the city, where the charter places it, and gave it to the aldermen only; [and] that since those rules, which were made in 1672, the elections have been in another manner, and in about thirty-six mayors, eight or nine were junior aldermen.

On the whole, the matter seemed to me to hang on a most slender point; and being Archbishop of Dublin, I thought I was obliged to be for the city; but the majority was for the by-law, and disapproved Alderman Barlow, who was returned for mayor. I did foresee that this would beget ill blood, and did not think it for my Lord Duke of Ormond's interest to clash with the city; and I went to several of his Grace's friends, whom I much trust, before the debate in Council, and desired them to consider the

matter; and laid the inconveniency I apprehended before them, and desired them to take notice, that I had warned them; but they told me, that they did not foresee any hurt it would be to his Grace. And I pray God it may not; though I am afraid it may give him some trouble.

The citizens have taken it heinously; and, as I hear, met to-day, and in common council repealed the by-law, and have chosen Alderman Barlow again. I think them wrong in both, and [it is] a declaration of enmity against the Council and Government, which feud is easier begun than laid. It is certain the Council must disapprove their choice, it being against the new rules, as well as good manners; and what other steps will be made to correct them, I cannot say; whereas, if they had appointed a committee to view and report what old obsolete by-laws were become inconvenient, and repealed this among the rest, it would not have given offence; and if they had chosen another instead of Barlow, I believe he would have been approved, and there had been an end of the contest.

You must know this is made a party affair, as Constantine sets up for a High Churchman, which I never heard he did before: but this is an inconveniency in parties, that whoever has a private quarrel, and finds himself too weak, he immediately becomes a zealous partisan, and makes his private a public quarrel.¹ Perhaps it may not be ungrateful, nor perhaps altogether useless to you, to know the truth of this matter; for I imagine it will be talked of.

I believe the generality of the citizens and gentlemen of Ireland are looked on as friends to the Whiggish interest.

¹ Whatever may have been its origin, the civic dispute, to which the Archbishop devotes so large a portion of this letter, undoubtedly became afterwards connected with the higher politics of that day, and Whigs and Tories appear ranged on opposite sides in its progress. For two years the mayoral war continued to rage in Dublin with unabated violence, and a mass of ministerial correspondence and of fugitive literature on the subject still remains. This letter has been described by Forster as a ludicrous one (Forster Collection), and the description is no less applicable to the whole contest as seen in the light of to-day. The combatants were, however, absolutely devoid of any sense of humour, and we find the Recorder gravely urging that the unpopularity of Constantine's wife with her own sex, for whom the Recorder professes the deepest respect, was a sufficient reason for the rejection of her husband, while an opponent retorts that the Recorder had good luck if the fair sex had any respect for him ("Her Majesty's Prerogative in Ireland," Lond., 1712).

But it is only so far as to keep out the Pretender, whom they mortally fear with good reason; and so many villanous papers have been spread here, and so much pains taken to persuade them that the Tories design to bring him in, that it is no wonder they are afraid of them; but God be thanked, this Ministry and Parliament has pretty well allayed that fear, by their steady and prudent management. And if his Grace the Duke of Ormond prosecutes the same measures the Ministry doth in Britain, as I believe he will, I persuade myself, that the generality here will be as zealous for this as any Ministry we ever had.

The death of the Earl of Rochester is a great blow to all good men, and even his enemies cannot but do justice to his character.¹ What influence it will have on public affairs, God only knows. I pray let me have your thoughts on it, for I have some fears, that I do not find affect other people; I was of opinion, that he contributed much to keep things steady; and I wish his friends may not want his influence. I conclude with my prayers for you.

WILL. DUBLIN.

CXV. [*Original.*²]

EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO SWIFT

Hanover, *June* 21 [O. S. 10], 1711.

SIR,

YOU were returning me to ages past for some expressions in my letter. I find matter in yours³ to send you as far back as the golden age. How came you to frame a system—in the times we live in—to govern the world by love?

I was much more surprised at such a notion in your first, than to find your opinion altered in your last letter. My hopes were founded more reasonably upon the contrary principle. I wish we could keep ourselves steady by any; but I confess it was the hatred and contempt so justly conceived against our late governors, that gave me some

¹ As Swift records ("Prose Works," ii, 169), Lord Rochester died suddenly on the 3rd of that month.

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ *Supra*, p. 252.

little expectations we might unite, at least in order to prevent a relapse.

The consequences of places not given were apparent; the whole party were then dissatisfied; and when given, those are only pleased who have them. This is what the honest management of past administrations has brought us to; but I should not yet despair, if your loving principle could but have its force among three or four of your acquaintances. Never persons had more reason to agree; nor was it ever in the power of a few men to bring greater events to bear, or prevent greater inconveniencies; for such are inevitable, without the nicest management; and I believe no person was ever better prepared to make this out than myself.

I wish before I left England, that I had met, either in your letters or discourse, anything like what you hint in your last: I should have found great ease, and you, some satisfaction, for, had you passed these six months with me abroad, I could have made you sensible, that it were easy to have brought the character and influence of an English peer, equal to that of a senator in old Rome. Methinks I could have brought it to that pass, to have seen a levee of suppliant Kings and Princes, expecting their destinies from us, and submitting to our decrees; but if we come in politics to your necessity of leaving the town for want of money to live in it, Lord, how the case will alter!

You threaten me with law, and tell me I might be compelled to make my words good. Remember your own insinuations: what if I should leave England in a week's time, and summon you in quality of chaplain and secretary, to be a witness to transactions perhaps of the greatest importance, so great, that I should think you might deserve the bishopric of Winchester at your return? Let me know, in a letter directed to Parson's Green, the moment you receive this, whether you are ready and willing; but you must learn to live a month, now and then, without sleep.¹

¹ Swift received this letter on the 20th of that month ("Prose Works," ii, 196), and Lord Peterborough arrived about the same time. The direction to send an answer to Parson's Green, Lord Peterborough's seat near London, had greatly puzzled Swift until he found that his Lordship "sent expresses and got here before them." Of Peterborough's hurried journey home Swift gives an account in the following letter to Archbishop King, as well as in the Journal to Stella; and

As to all other things, we should meet with no mortifications abroad, if we could escape them from home.

But, without raillery, if ever I can propose to myself to be of any great use, I foresee this will be the case. This is so much my opinion, that I conclude, if it falls out otherwise, I shall never concern myself in any public business in England; that I shall either leave it for a better climate, or marry in a rage, and become the hero of the October Club. Yours, etc.

PETERBOROUGH.

Addressed—For Dr. Swift.

CXVI. [*Sheridan*.]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London,¹ *July 12, 1711.*

MY LORD,

I NOW conceive your Grace begins to be a busy person in Council, and Parliament, and Convocation;² and perhaps may be content to be diverted now and then by an idle letter from hence. We have an empty town, the Queen being settled at Windsor, and the Ministers often there. We are so weary with expecting farther removals, that we begin to drop the discourse; neither am I sure, whether those in power may not differ a little in opinion as to the

in the verses which he addressed to the Earl of Peterborough, there are lines to which this journey seems to have given origin:

“So wonderful his expedition,
When you have not the least suspicion,
He’s with you like an apparition.”

¹ On 5 July Swift had left Chelsea (*supra*, p. 255, n. 1) “for good,” a phrase for which he claims acceptance on account of its indubitable gentleness, and had returned to London to lodgings in Suffolk Street (“Prose Works,” ii, 205).

² The Irish Parliament had been summoned for 9 July, but was not formally opened by the Duke of Ormond (*supra*, p. 199, n. 1) until the 12th. The postponement was probably due to delay in the Duke’s arrival in Ireland, as his journey on that occasion was a remarkable illustration of the uncertainty of communication between the two countries in the days of sailing vessels, a fortnight elapsing after he had reached Chester before the weather permitted either the man-of-war or the yacht to venture out from Parkgate (Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

matter. However, it seems generally agreed, that there will be many changes before next session, and that it is necessary there should be so.¹ My Lord Peterborough has been some time returned, and I have had a good deal of talk with him; or rather he has talked a good deal to me. He is mightily discontented with what I writ to him, and which he finds to be true, that there seems a general disposition among us towards a peace. He thinks his successful negotiations with the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, have put us in a better condition than ever to continue the war, and will engage to convince me, that Spain is yet to be had, if we take proper measures.² Your Grace knows he is a person of great talents, but dashed with something restless and capricious in his nature.³ He told me he came over without being recalled, and without one servant, having scattered them in several parts of Germany. I doubt he will not have credit enough with the Ministry to make them follow his plans; and he is such a sort of person as may give good advice, which wise men may reasonably refuse to follow.⁴

It seems to me that the Ministry lie under a grievous

¹ The extreme wing of the Tory party, represented by the October Club, was at that time urgent in demanding the dismissal of every Minister and Government official whose Toryism could be questioned. When writing this letter Swift thought, what was then the general opinion, that the decision lay with the Ministry, and that Harley was the obstacle to the adoption of such a policy; but as Swift explains in "An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry" ("Prose Works," v, 439), he saw reason to change that view, and there represents that the Queen, owing to her desire for "a moderate and comprehensive scheme," was the real and only difficulty, and that Harley took "the burden of reproach" upon himself rather than allow her to bear it.

² The succession of the Archduke Charles, the King of Spain then acknowledged by England and her allies, to the German Empire on the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph (*supra*, p. 245, n. 2), appeared certain at that time. It is possible that Peterborough foresaw the renunciation by the Archduke of his claim to Spain on his accession to the Empire, and discussed with Swift the possibility of placing the Duke of Savoy on the Spanish throne, which had long been a favourite scheme of his.

³ In the words of the Journal to Stella "the ramblingest lying rogue on earth" ("Prose Works," ii, 58).

⁴ In a note appended by Sir Walter Scott ("Works," xv, 456), there is a dissertation on the imprudence of neglecting to avail ourselves of "the suggestions of genius on account of its eccentricities."

dilemma, from the difficulty of continuing the war, and the danger of an ill peace; which I doubt whether all their credit with the Queen and country would support them under; but my Lord Treasurer is a stranger to fear, and has all that courage which innocence and good sense can give a man, and the most free from avarice of anyone living; both which are absolutely necessary for his station in this juncture. He was saying a thing to me some days ago, which I believe is the great maxim he proceeds by, that wisdom in public affairs was not, what is commonly believed, the forming of schemes with remote views; but the making use of such incidents as happen.¹ It was thought my Lord Mar would have succeeded as Secretary upon the Duke of Queensberry's death; but the Court seems now disposed to have no third Secretary, which was a useless charge.² The Queen has been extremely ill, so as for four-and-twenty hours people were in great pain; but she has been since much better, and voided abundance of gravel, etc.³ Our expedition under Mr. Hill is said to be toward the South Seas, but nothing is known: I told a great man, who is deepest in the project of it, that I had no good opinion of these expeditions, which hitherto never succeeded with us. He said, he would venture ten to one upon the success of it, provided no ill accident happened by storms; and that it was concerted with three or four great Princes abroad.⁴

¹ To Sir Leslie Stephen ("Swift," p. 83) it is inexplicable that Swift should have been attracted by the character of a Minister "who made it his avowed and almost only rule of conduct that a politician should live from hand to mouth."

² The Earl of Mar ultimately succeeded the Duke of Queensberry (*supra*, p. 195, n. 2), but was not appointed until nearly two years after the Duke's death.

³ From a reference in the Journal to Stella Swift appears to have attributed the Queen's illness to mismanagement on the part of her physicians. As bank stock fell heavily on some whispers of the truth Swift thought it in the interest of the Government to make light of her malady ("Prose Works," ii, 207, 209, 210).

⁴ Before that time it had been proposed to incorporate a company with a monopoly of trade in the South Seas, a designation applied to the countries of Peru, Chili, and Mexico, and the mysterious expedition which had sailed two months before under the command of Mrs. Masham's brother, Brigadier John Hill, to reduce Quebec, was not unnaturally supposed to be an attempt to conquer what were then considered El Dorados. The success of this expedition was thought to

As to the first fruits, I must inform your Grace, that the whole affair lies exactly as it did for some months past. The Duke and his people never thought, or at least never meddled in it, until some days before they went, and then they were told it was already done; and my Lord Treasurer directed that it should be an instruction to the Lord Lieutenant to mention in his speech to Parliament, that the Queen had done it, etc. But they took no sort of care to finish the matter, and carry the instrument over with them, which they might have done, had they begun timely, and applied themselves; and as the Bishops superseded me, I did not presume to meddle farther in it: but I think this may be a lesson, that in all such cases as these, it is necessary to have some good solicitor, and not leave things wholly to great men; nay, so little did the Duke engage in this matter, that my Lord Treasurer told me yesterday, although that is a secret, that the very draft they had made upon my application was some way or other mislaid between the Queen and himself, and could not be found; but however, that another should soon be drawn: and his Lordship commanded me to inform your Grace, and my Lords the Bishops, that with the first convenience the instrument should be prepared and sent over, which your Grace will please to let them know. I was of opinion with my Lord Treasurer, that it should be done by a deed from the Queen, without an Act of Parliament, and that the Bishops should be made a corporation, for the management of it. Your Grace sees I write with much freedom, because I am sure I can do it safely.

I have been engaging my Lord Treasurer and the other great men in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his Lordship. He is to erect some kind of society, or academy, under the patronage of the Ministers, and protection of the Queen, for correcting, en-

depend largely on secrecy as to its destination, and it is not improbable that St. John, or "the great man" as he is here called, had not confided its object even to Swift. The result of the expedition, which fully bore out Swift's apprehensions, was attributed to the inexperience of its commander, "whom it had pleased the Queen to force up through the grades of military rank for the double purpose of gratifying his sister and of mortifying Marlborough," but as Wyon points out (*op. cit.*, ii, 314), "inasmuch as the troops never reached a human enemy, Hill's incompetency had nothing to do with the failure of the expedition."

larging, polishing, and fixing our language. The methods must be left to the society; only I am writing a letter to my Lord Treasurer, by way of proposals, and some general hints, which I design to publish, and he expects from me.¹ All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and so I hope will your Grace if the design can be well executed. I would desire at leisure some of your Grace's thoughts on this matter.

I hope your Grace will take advantage of the times and see whether your violent House of Commons will fall in with some good law for the benefit of the Church, as their much betters have done it here:² and I think the Convocation could not be better employed, than in considering what good law is wanting for the Church, and endeavour to have it passed, rather than in brangling upon trifles. The Church has so few happy occasions, that we ought to let none of them slip. I take up too much of your Grace's time; and therefore, begging your prayers and blessings, I remain, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most dutiful humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

CXVII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *July 25, 1711.*

REVEREND SIR,

YOU must not wonder that I have been so ill a correspondent of late, being, as I find, in debt to you for yours of June the 8th,³ and July the 12th. This did not proceed

¹ It was not until the following February that the letter to Harley ("Prose Works," xi, 2) was written, but the subject had been for some time in Swift's thoughts, and in the previous September he had written an article in the "Tatler" in connection with it.

² During the previous session the British Parliament had voted the necessary funds to build fifty churches to meet the needs of the new London that had sprung up outside Temple Bar—a work to which Swift had contributed the first impulse in his "Project for the Advancement of Religion" ("Prose Works," iii, 45; ix, 278).

³ So far as is known this letter does not exist. It was written at the time Swift surrendered the "Examiner" into other hands, and was on

from any negligence, but from the circumstances of things here, that were such, that I could not return you any satisfactory answer.

We have now got over the preliminaries of our Parliaments and Convocation; that is to say, our addresses, etc., and as to the Parliament, so far as appears to me, there will be an entire compliance with her Majesty's occasions, and my Lord Duke of Ormond's desire; and that funds will be given for two years from Christmas next; by which we shall have the following summer free from parliamentary attendance, which proves a great obstruction both to Church and country business.¹ As to the Convocation, we have no license as yet to act. I have heard some whispers, as if a letter of license had come over, and was sent back again to be mended, especially as to direction about a President. I may inform you, that the matter is in her Majesty's choice: we have on record four licenses; the first directed to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1614; the other three, that are in 1634, 1662, 1665, directed to the then Lords Primates.² I have not at present the exact dates; but I have seen the writs, and find the Convocation sat in these years.

His Grace the Duke of Ormond, in his speech to the Parliament, which I doubt not but you have seen, mentioned the remittal of the twentieth parts, and the grant of the first fruits, for buying impropriations; but did not assume to himself any merit in the procuring of them;³

the point of starting with the Earl of Shelburne (*supra*, p. 188, n. 2) for that nobleman's country seat at Wycombe, where he stayed for nearly a fortnight recruiting from the strain which the conduct of the "Examiner" had imposed upon him ("Prose Works," ii, 192-194).

¹ See previous reference to the meetings of the Irish Parliament being as a rule only biennial (*supra*, p. 97, n. 2).

² In this rather equivocal passage King's intention is evidently to suggest that Swift should use his influence to have the letters of business addressed to him instead of to the Primate. King was apparently unaware that the departure from the customary procedure in 1614 was due to the fact that the prelate who held the see of Dublin at that time, Thomas Jones, was also Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and that this combination of ecclesiastical and civil rank was held to entitle Jones to the first place (see Bishop Reeves's *History* already cited).

³ The words used by Ormond were: "By remitting the twentieth parts and granting the first fruits for buying the impropriations, her Majesty has not only conferred a mark of her grace and favour on the

nor, that I can find by any intimation, so much as insinuated that the grant was on his motion; notwithstanding, both in the House of Lords and Convocation, some laboured to ascribe the whole to his Grace; and had it not been for the account I had from you, his Grace must, next to her Majesty, have had the entire thanks. You will observe, from the Lords' address and Convocation, that his Grace is brought in for a share in both.¹ But if the case should be otherwise, yet his Grace is no way to be blamed. The current runs that way; and perhaps neither you nor I have bettered our interest here at present, by endeavouring to stop it.

The conclusion was that all the Archbishops and Bishops agreed to return thanks to my Lord Treasurer of Great Britain, by a letter, which all in town have signed, being convinced, that, next to her Majesty's native bounty, and zeal for the Church, this favour is due to his Lordship's mediation. But they have employed no agent to solicit the passing the act through the offices, believing his Lordship will take care of that of his own mere motion, as he did of the grant. This is meant as an instance of their great confidence in his Lordship's concern for them, which makes it needless that any should intermeddle in what he has undertaken. If his Lordship thinks fit to return any answer to the Bishops, I wish he would take some occasion to mention you in it; for that would justify you, and convince the Bishops, some of whom, perhaps, suspect the truth of what you said of the first fruits and twentieth parts being granted before his Grace the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.²

present clergy, but has provided for the maintenance of greater numbers of them, when by the good laws made against the Popish religion in her Majesty's reign the Church shall be enlarged."

¹ The Lords voted two addresses to the Queen, one acknowledging the speech from the throne and the other thanking her for the appointment of the Duke of Ormond as Lord Lieutenant, and an address to the Duke of Ormond. In the addresses to the Queen there is no mention of Ormond's assistance in connection with the grant of the first fruits, but in the address to Ormond the following words occur in a reference to the grant: "And we are very sensible how much we are indebted to your Grace's particular care and mediation herein." It may be added that Archbishop King was one of those responsible for drafting the addresses.

² On receipt of this letter, which did not reach him until 14 August

I cannot at present write of several matters, that perhaps I may have opportunity to communicate to you. I have sent with this the Lords' and the Convocation's address to my Lord Duke. If it may be proper, I would have my most humble respects to be laid before my Lord Treasurer. You may be sure I am his most humble servant, and shall never forget the advantages he has been the author of to the Church and State; and yet I believe, if it please God to prolong his life, greater things may be expected from him; my prayers shall not be wanting. As for yourself, I will say more some other time: and for the present shall only assure you, that I am, Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant and brother,

WILLIAM DUBLIN.

CXVIII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Lissen Hall,¹ *July 28, 1711.*

SINCE my Lord Duke of Ormond's arrival, I have been so continually hurried with company, that I retired here for two or three days. The preliminaries of our Parliament are now over; that is to say, addresses, etc., and I find the usual funds will be granted, I think unanimously for two years from Christmas next, which is all the Duke of Ormond desires. I do not see much more will be done. You will observe several reflections are in the addresses on the late management here, in which the Earl of Anglesey and I differed.² If we could impeach, as you can in Great Britain,

owing to his being at Windsor, Swift remarks to Stella that the Duke "had less share in it than MD.; for if it had not been for MD., I should not have been so good a solicitor" ("Prose Works," ii, 222).

¹ Lissen Hall, which derives its name from the Irish word *lissín*, a little fort, is situated in the parish of Swords (*supra*, p. 119, n. 1). It was then the residence of Robert King, a member of the Irish Parliament and a brother of the Rev. Thomas King, already mentioned in connection with Swords parish. Robert King, who was by profession a solicitor, was much in the confidence of his kinsman, the Archbishop.

² The House of Lords exhibited their exultation on a change of Government, which relieved them from their apprehensions of a

and bring the malefactors to account, I should be for it with all my endeavour; but to show our ill will when we can do no more, seems to be no good policy in a dependent people, and that can have no other effect than to provoke revenge without the prospect of redress; of which we have two fatal instances. I reckon, that every chief governor who is sent here comes with a design to serve first those who sent him; and that our good only must be so far considered, as it is subservient to the main design. The only difference between governors, as to us, is to have a good-natured man, that has some interest in our prosperity, and will not oppress us unnecessarily; and such is his Grace. But I doubt, whether even that will not be an objection

repeal of the Test, in addresses (*supra*, p. 270, n. 1) which exhibit little restraint in expression, and are hardly such as might be expected from an assembly in which the spiritual peers equalled the temporal in number. Throughout both the addresses to the Queen there is a covert attack upon Wharton. Satisfaction is expressed that the nation is relieved from "the load of debt" which would have resulted from projects promoted by him—the migration to Ireland of "numbers of useless and indigent Palatines," and the erection in Dublin of "a stately and expensive arsenal;" and her Majesty is thanked for the appointment of a successor to him who has "no sinister, no private ends in view," and is represented as incapable of designing anything "derogatory from her Majesty's crown and dignity or vexatious to her good subjects in their most tender interests." But the words which King opposed chiefly (*infra*, p. 280) were those used in acknowledging the announcement of a grant towards building the library in Trinity College. This grant had been sought after Forbes's expulsion (*supra*, p. 102) as a reward for the Provost's zeal and the encouragement of good literature and "sound Revolution principles," and the Lords made the last ground the justification for an acknowledgement couched in the following strange terms: "Your Majesty has also extended your royal favour to the College of Dublin, and at such a juncture, as must testify to the world, that what your Majesty bestowed, was not given to promote those principles upon which it was first applied for, but to encourage University education, the neglect and disuse of which we firmly believe hath of late been a great means and occasion of the growth of ignorance and profaneness, infidelity, and all those loose and wild notions and tenets which have industriously been spread amongst us to the endangering of the State and the undermining the foundation of all religion." It is evident, however, that the addresses, such as they were, were not ungrateful to the Government from the fact that they had the support of the Earl of Anglesey, a man of considerable academic attainments, who had just been appointed joint Vice Treasurer and Treasurer of War in Ireland, and as appears from a subsequent letter Archbishop King had only two supporters in his opposition to their adoption.

against him on your side of the water: for I have found, that those governors, that gained most on the liberties of the kingdom, are reckoned the best; and therefore it concerns us to be on our guard against all governors, and to provoke as little as we can. For he, that cannot revenge himself, acts the wise part, when he dissembles, and passes over injuries.

In my opinion, the best that has happened to us, is, that the Parliament grants the funds for two years; for by these means we shall have one summer to ourselves to do our Church and country business. I have not been able to visit my diocese *ecclesiasticum*, as I used to do, the last three years, for want of such a recess.¹ I hope the Parliament of Great Britain will not resume the yarn bill whilst they continue the same.² The Lords have not sat above four or five days, and are adjourned till Monday next;³ so we have no heads of bills brought into our House as yet: but if any be relating to the Church, I will do my endeavour to give you satisfaction.

Our letter⁴ is come over for the remittal of the twentieth parts, and granting the first fruits for buying impropriations, and purchasing glebes, which will be a great ease to the clergy, and a benefit to the Church. We want glebes more than the impropriations; and I am for buying them first, where wanting; for without them, residence is impossible: and besides, I look upon it as a security to tithes, that the laity have a share in them; and therefore I am not for purchasing them, but where they are absolutely necessary.

We shall, I believe, have some considerations of methods to convert the natives; but I do not find, that it is desired by all, that they should be converted. There is a party amongst us, that have little sense of religion, and heartily hate the Church: these would have the natives made Protestants; but such as themselves are deadly afraid they⁵ should come into the Church, because, say they, this would strengthen the Church too much. Others would have them come in, but cannot approve of the methods proposed, which are to preach to them in their own

¹ *Supra*, p. 269.

² *Supra*, p. 248.

³ The Lords, who had met in all eight times, had adjourned on Tuesday the 24th to Monday the 30th.

⁴ It was dated 17 February.

⁵ *I.e.*, the natives.

language, and have the service in Irish, as our own canons require. So that between them, I am afraid that little will be done.¹ I am, Sir,

Yours, etc.

CXIX. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *August 15, 1711.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE been at Windsor a fortnight, from whence I returned two days ago,² and met a letter at my lodgings from your Grace, dated July 25th. I was told it was sent to Mr. Manley's house, your Postmaster's son,³ and by him

¹ The movement for the conversion of the Irish Roman Catholics, which has been already noticed in connection with the visit of its chief exponent, Mr. Richardson, to London (*supra*, p. 248, n. 1), met with opposition from the most unexpected quarters, and was eventually dropped. "Political reasons," says Dr. Ball (*"Hist. of Reformed Church of Ireland,"* p. 187), "outweighed with many the sense of religious duty," and the advocates of the movement seem to have been unable to contend against arguments which had their origin in "fear that the proposed measures might be followed by local disturbances, and even if they were not, yet that they would tend to perpetuate the separation of the natives from the Anglo-Irish, by keeping alive for the former a distinct language." As Dr. Ball remarks (*ibid.*, p. 183), the use of the Irish language was in the reign of Queen Anne much more extensive than at present, and was retained with a tenacity for which he finds parallels in the case of the Welsh and the Highlanders, and in more remote times of the Galatians.

² "And Harley, not ashamed his choice to own,
Takes him to Windsor in his coach alone."

For the first time Swift had been taken to Windsor by Harley on Saturday, July 21, and had returned on the following day. On the succeeding Saturday he had gone down with St. John and remained for a fortnight, during which he appears to have written: "Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled a Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to Examine Gregg" (*"Prose Works,"* v, 29).

³ Isaac Manley, the Postmaster of Ireland, so frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, was only connected with Ireland through his employment, and his son, "a handsome fellow" with a wife who in Swift's eyes was not so prepossessing (*"Prose Works,"* ii, 208), was resident in London, where he became a commissioner of customs. The Postmaster was a younger brother of John Manley, the member

to me: so that I suppose your Grace did not direct to Mr. Lewis as formerly,¹ otherwise I should have had it at Windsor. The Ministers go usually down to Windsor on Saturday, and return on Monday or Tuesday following. I had little opportunity of talking with my Lord Treasurer, seeing him only at Court, or at supper at third places, or in much company at his own lodgings. Yesterday I went to visit him after dinner, but did not stay above an hour, because business called him out. I read to him that part of your Grace's letter which expresses your Grace's respects to him, and he received them perfectly well. He told me, he had lately received a letter from the Bishops of Ireland, subscribed, as I remember, by seventeen, acknowledging his favour about the first fruits. I told his Lordship, that some people in Ireland doubted whether the Queen had granted them before the Duke of Ormond was declared Lieutenant. Yes, he said, sure I remembered it was immediately upon my application. I said, I heard the Duke himself took no merit on that account. He answered, no, he was sure he did not, he was the honestest gentleman alive: but, said he, it is the Queen that did it, and she alone shall have the merit.

And I must be so free as to tell your Grace that the grudging, ungrateful manner of some people, which upon several occasions I could not but give him hints of for my justification, has not been prudent. I am sure it has hindered me from any thoughts of pursuing another affair of yet greater consequence, which I had good hopes of compassing.² What can be the matter with those people? Do I ask either money or thanks of them? Have I done any hurt to the business? My Lord Treasurer told me he had sent the letter over about the first fruits. I never inquired into the particulars: he says he will very soon answer the Bishops' letter to himself, and will show me both letter and answer: but I shall not put him in mind unless he remembers it of his own accord; nor, with great submission to your Grace, can I prevail on my own pride to desire he would make

for Westminster (*supra*, p. 221, n. 1), who is said to have been connected with certain incidents in the life of his cousin, Mary de la Riviere Manley, the author of the "New Atalantis" and Swift's understudy in the conduct of the "Examiner" ("D. N. B.," xxxvi, 36).

¹ *Supra*, p. 248.

² The remission of the crown rents (*supra*, p. 203).

any mention of me in his answer. Your Grace is convinced, that unless I write a heap of lies, the Queen had granted that affair before my Lord Duke was named. I desire to convince nobody else; and, since the thing is done, it is not of any consequence who were instrumental in it.

I could not forbear yesterday reminding my Lord Treasurer of what I said to Mr. Southwell¹ before his Lordship, when he came to take his leave before he went to Ireland; which was, that I hoped Mr. Southwell would let the Bishops and clergy of Ireland know, that my Lord Treasurer had long since, before the Duke was governor, prevailed on the Queen to remit the first fruits, etc., and that it was his Lordship's work, as the grant of the same favour in England had formerly been. My Lord Treasurer did then acknowledge it before Mr. Southwell, and I think Mr. Southwell should have acted accordingly; but there is a great deal of ignorance, as well as ill will, in all this matter. The Duke of Ormond himself, had he engaged in it, could only act as a solicitor. Everybody knows that the Lord Treasurer, in such cases, must be applied to, and only he, by the greatest persons. I should think the people of Ireland might rather be pleased to see one of their own country able to find some credit at Court, and in a capacity to serve them, especially one who does it without any other prospect than that of serving them. I know not any of the Bishops from whom I can expect any favour, and there are not many upon whom a man of any figure could have such designs: but I will be revenged; for whenever it lies in my power, I will serve the Church and kingdom, although they should use me much worse. I shall dine to-morrow with the Lord Treasurer, and perhaps I may then see the answer he is to write. I thought to have sent this letter away to-night; but I have been interrupted by business. I go to Windsor again on Saturday for a day or two, but I will leave this behind to be sent to the post.

August 21.

I had wrote thus far, and was forced to leave off, being hurried away to Windsor by my Lord Treasurer,² from

¹ *Supra*, p. 211, n. 4.

² The foregoing portion of this letter was written on Wednesday the 15th, and Swift's departure for Windsor can hardly have been the cause of its not being completed, as that did not occur until Saturday.

whence I returned but last night. His Lordship gave me a paper, which he said he had promised me. I put it in my pocket, thinking it was about something else we had been talking over; and I never looked into it until just now, when I find it to be my Lord Primate's letter to his Lordship, with an enclosed one from the Bishops. With submission, I take it to be dry enough, although I shall not tell his Lordship so. They say, they are informed his Lordship had a great part in, etc. I think they should either have told who it was informed them so, since it was a person commissioned by themselves; or, at least, have said they were assured. And as for those words, a great part, I know nobody else had any, except the Queen herself. I cannot tell whether my Lord has writ an answer, having said nothing to him of it since he gave me the letters; nor shall I desire to see it.

As to the Convocation, I remember both my Lord Treasurer and Mr. St. John spoke to me about the matter, and were of the same opinion with your Grace, that it was wholly in the Queen's choice. I excused giving my opinion, being wholly uninformed; and I have heard nothing of it since. My Lord Keeper gave me yesterday a bundle of Irish votes at Windsor, and we talked a good deal about the quarrels between the Lords and Commons.¹ I said the fault lay in not dissolving the Parliament, which I had mentioned to the Duke of Ormond, and often to some of those who were thought to have most credit with him; but they seemed to believe, as I did, that any Irish Parliament would yield to anything that any chief governor pleased, and so it would be a needless trouble.

We reckon for certain, that Mr. Hill with his fleet is gone

¹ The extreme Tory policy outlined by the Lords in their addresses had alarmed the Commons, and aroused in that House a no less vehement Whig spirit. As will be seen from subsequent letters serious conflicts between the two Houses ensued, and the session was spent in wordy debates and in passing recriminatory resolutions. The proceedings are related at length, but unfortunately not without bias, by Froude (*op. cit.*, i, 345-350). The fight largely centred in the interpretation to be given to the words "sound Revolution principles" (*supra*, p. 271, n. 2), and in an address to the Queen complaining of the Lords, which was voted on 8 August, the Commons thought it necessary to say that "the sound Revolution principles neither had nor can have in the true construction of the words any other meaning than what related to the late happy Revolution."

to Quebec. Mrs. Masham is every minute expecting to lie in. Pray God preserve her life, which is of great importance. I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

The Queen has got a light fit of the gout. The privy-seal is not yet disposed of.

CXX. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

August 26, 1711.

MY LORD,

PERHAPS you will be content to know some circumstances of affairs here. The Duke of Somerset usually leaves Windsor on Saturday, when the Ministers go down thither, and returns not until they are gone.² On Sunday sevensnight,³ contrary to custom, he was at Windsor, and a cabinet council was to be held at night; but, after waiting a long time, word was brought out, that there would be no cabinet. Next day it was held, and then the Duke went to a horse-race about three miles off. This began to be whispered; and at my return to town they had got it in the city; but not the reason; which was, that Mr. Secretary St. John refused to sit if the Duke was there. Last Sunday the Duke was there again, but did not offer to come to the cabinet, which was held without him. I hear the Duke was advised by his friends of the other party to take this step.

¹ *Supra*, p. 266, n. 4.

² The conduct of that variable nobleman, the Duke of Somerset, who held the office of Master of the Horse, is narrated in the "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" ("Prose Works," x, 31-34). In the alienation of the Queen from the late Government his influence had been an important element, but his resentments were against persons and not policy, and the new Ministry found him one of their most dangerous foes, abetted as he was by his powerful Duchess:—

"And, dear England if ought I understand,
Beware of Carrots from Northumberland.
Carrots sown Thynne a deep root may get,
If so be they are in Somer set."

("Poetical Works," ii, 151.)

³ Swift appears to have been writing on that day fortnight.

The Secretary said to some of his acquaintance, that he would not sit with a man who had so often betrayed them, etc. You know the Duchess of Somerset is a great favourite, and has got the Duchess of Marlborough's key. She is insinuating, and a woman of intrigue; and will, I believe, do what ill offices she can to the Secretary. They would have hindered her coming in; but the Queen said, if it were so that she could not have what servants she liked, she did not find how her condition was mended. I take the safety of the present Ministry to consist in the agreement of three great men, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary; and so I have often told them together between jest and earnest, and two of them separately with more seriousness. And I think they entirely love one another, as their differences are not of weight to break their union. They vary a little about their notions of a certain General. I will not say more at this distance. I do not see well how they can be without the Secretary, who has very great abilities, both for the cabinet and Parliament.¹

The Tories in the city are a little discontented, that no farther changes are made in employments, of which I cannot learn the secret, although I have heard several, and from such who might tell the true one if they would: one is, that Lord Treasurer professes he is at a loss to find persons qualified for several places: another, which is less believed, that the Queen interposes: a third, that it is a trimming disposition.² I am apt to think that he finds the call for

¹ Since his return from Chelsea to London (*supra*, p. 264, n. 1), Swift had been frequently in close and long conference with St. John. It seems to have been largely on St. John's suggestion that Swift came back to town, and his prolonged visit to Windsor was at the request of St. John, who was for part of the time in attendance on the Queen, and wished to employ his leisure in discussing some question of policy with Swift. In the *Journal to Stella*, Swift writes as if he were ignorant at that time of the intentions of the Ministers on the question of a peace, but from the reference here to Marlborough, who is of course the person designated as "a certain General," it is evident that Swift's knowledge was not so limited as he wished the public to believe, and from the concluding sentence it may be inferred that Swift was for the moment more under the dominion of St. John than of Harley. Further authority for this view is to be found eight months later in the *Journal to Stella* ("Prose Works," ii, 346), where, in writing of his friend Stratford's financial failure, Swift mentions that he gave him notice of a treaty of peace while it was a secret.

² *Supra*, p. 265, n. 1.

employments greater than he can answer, if there were five times as many to dispose of; and I know particularly that he dislikes very much the notion of people, that every one is to be turned out. The Treasurer is much the greatest Minister I ever knew; regular in life, with a true sense of religion, an excellent scholar, and a good divine, of a very mild and affable disposition, intrepid in his notions, and indefatigable in business, an utter despiser of money for himself, yet frugal, perhaps to an extremity, for the public. In private company, he is wholly disengaged, and very facetious, like one who has no business at all. He never wants a reserve upon any emergency, which would appear desperate to others; and makes little use of those thousand projectors and schematists, who are daily plying him with their visions, but to be thoroughly convinced, by the comparison, that his own notions are the best. I am, my Lord, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most obedient, etc.

CXXI. [*Sheridan.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Swords,¹ *September 1, 1711.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE before me yours of the 15th and 21st, for which I return you my hearty thanks. I perceive you have the votes of our Commons here, and I suppose the address of the Lords that gave occasion to them. I must let you know that I was very positive against the clause that provoked them, and kept the House in debate about it at least an hour, and spoke so often, that I was ashamed of myself; yet there were but three negatives to it.² I used several arguments against the Lords concurring with their committee, and foretold all that has happened upon it; upon which I was much out of favour with the House for some time; and industry has been used, as I was informed, to persuade my Lord Duke, that what I did was in opposition to his interest; but when I had the opportunity to dis-

¹ *Supra*, p. 271, n. 1.

² *Supra*, p. 271, n. 2.

course his Grace last, he was of another opinion. And in truth, my regard to his Grace's interest was the principal reason of opposing a clause, that I foresaw might embarrass his business here.

There happened another affair relating to one Langton, of whom I formerly gave you some account.¹ The Commons found him on the establishment for a small pension; and having an ill notion of him and his informations, they took this occasion to examine his merits; in order to which, they sent up a message to the Lords, to desire leave of Judge Coote,² who had taken his examinations, and those of his witnesses, to come down, and inform the committee: and this seemed the more necessary, because the examinations taken by the Council were burned:³ but the Lords refused to let the Judge go down, as desired, and passed a vote to take the examination of the matter into their hands. This, I foresaw, might prove another bone of contention, and did oppose it, but with the same success as the former. Langton pleaded privilege, as chaplain to the Bishop of Ossory,⁴ and refused to appear before the Commons: on which they passed the angry resolves you will find in their votes. The examination of this matter has employed much of the Lords' time to very little purpose. My opposing this was made an objection against me by some, that wish now my advice had been taken.

The business of the city of Dublin, of which I gave you an account formerly,⁵ embroils us very much. We have at the council rejected four mayors and eight sheriffs, all regularly elected by the city; some of them the best citizens in the town, and much in the interest of the Government. We begin to be sick of it, and I am afraid,

¹ *Supra*, p. 224.

² The Hon. Thomas Coote, whose father was created Baron Coote of Colooney, and whose brother and grandson became Earls of Bellamont, had been appointed a justice of the King's Bench by William III. When on a visit to London he sought the companionship of Swift, to whom he was personally known, "to justify his principles" ("Prose Works," ii, 307), and evinced such opinions as led to his supersession on the accession of George I. After his retirement from the bench he was noted for his patriotic efforts to promote industrial enterprise in Ireland.

³ In the previous April many public papers and records had been destroyed in a disastrous fire.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 192, n. 2.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 259.

that it may beget ill blood, and come into Parliament here. We have rejected the elected magistrates in four other corporations, which adds to the noise. I own there were good reasons for rejecting some of them: but I cannot say the same for Dublin. I wish this may not prove uneasy to us.

There was a motion made at the session for the county of Dublin at Kilmainham, for an address of thanks to her Majesty for sending his Grace the Duke of Ormond to be our chief governor. Nine of the justices, that is all that were then present, agreed to it, and an address was ordered to be drawn, which was brought next morning into court, and then there were above a score, that seemed to have come on purpose, and promised that it should be rejected by a majority, for this reason only, that it would entail a necessity on them to address in favour of every new Lord Lieutenant, or disoblige him; for which reason it was rejected also in my Lord Wharton's time. This noways concerns his Grace himself: but in my opinion, ought to lessen the esteem of some persons' management, that attempt things, which would be better let alone, where they cannot be carried without opposition.

The House of Commons seem to have received ill impressions of some. They reckon my Lord Duke's advisers, as if they were secretly his enemies, and designed to betray him. They generally seemed persuaded, that his Grace is a sincere honest man, and most in the interest of the kingdom of any chief governor they can ever expect; and that therefore they ought to support him to the utmost of their power, and declare, that the quarrels his enemies raise, shall not hinder them from doing whatever he shall reasonably desire from them, or her Majesty's service require; and as an instance of their sincerity in this, they have granted funds for two years from Christmas last; whereas at first they intended only two years from the 24th of June last.

I have been preaching a doctrine that seems strange to some: it is, that her Majesty, and the Ministry, will be inclined to employ such as may be a help and support to their interest, and not a clog. I mean, that these subalterns should, by their prudence and dexterity, be able to remove any misunderstandings, that may be between the Government and the people, and help to beget in them a good

notion of the Ministry; and by all means, avoid such things as may embarrass or beget jealousies; so that the burden or odium may not fall on the Ministry, where any harsh things happen to be done: that it seems to me to be the duty of those in posts, to avoid unnecessary disputes, and not to expect that the Ministry will interpose to extricate them, when they, without necessity, have involved themselves. But some are of a different opinion, and seem to think, that they have no more to do when they meet with difficulties, perhaps of their own creating, than to call in the Ministry, and desire them to decide the matter by power: a method that I do not approve, nor has it succeeded well with former governors here: witness Lord Sydney, and Lord Wharton in the case of the Convocation.¹

There really needs but one thing to quiet the people of Ireland, and it is to convince them, that there is no eye to the Pretender. Great industry has been, and still is, used to bugbear them with that fear. I believe it is over with you; but it will require time and prudent methods to quiet the people here, that have been possessed for twenty-two years with a continual apprehension, that he is at the door, and that a certain kind of people designed to bring him in. The circumstances of this kingdom, from what they saw and felt under King James, make the dread of him much greater than it can be with you.

As to our Convocation, a letter came from her Majesty to give us license to act; but it noways pleased some people, and so it was sent back to be modelled to their mind, but returned again without alteration. It came not to us till the day the Parliament adjourned. I was at that time obliged to attend the Council, there being a hearing of the Quakers against a Bill for Recovering Tithes. In my absence they adjourned till the meeting of the Parliament, without so much as voting thanks, or appointing a committee. The things that displeased some in the license were, first, that my Lord Primate was not the sole president, so as to appoint whom he pleased to act in his absence; the second

¹ In 1692 the Viceroy, Viscount Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney, prorogued the Irish Parliament to terminate unpalatable debate, and, as already stated, the Earl of Wharton acted similarly in the case of Convocation when the conduct of his chaplain, Lambert, was under discussion (*supra*, p. 202, n. 1).

was, the consideration of proper methods to convert the natives, against which some have set themselves with all their might;¹ the third is, what concerns pluralities, and residence, which some have not patience to hear of. The Lower House seem to have the matter more at heart; for they have appointed committees during the recess, and are doing something.

I cannot but admire, that you should be at a loss to find what is the matter with those, that would neither allow you, nor anyone else, to get any thing for the service of the Church, or the public. It is, with submission, the silliest query I ever found made by Dr. Swift. You know there are some, that would assume to themselves to be the only churchmen and managers, and cannot endure that anything should be done but by themselves, and in their own way; and had rather that all good things proposed should miscarry, than be thought to come from other hands than their own; whose business is to lessen everybody else, and obstruct whatever is attempted, though of the greatest advantage to Church and State, if it be not from their own party. And yet, so far as I have hitherto observed, I do not remember an instance of their proposing, much less prosecuting with success, anything for the public good. They seem to have a much better hand at obstructing others, and embarrassing affairs, than at proposing or prosecuting any good design.

These seem as uneasy that more alterations are not made here, as those you mention are with you. The reason is very plain, they would fain get into employments, which cannot be without removes; but I have often observed, that none are more eager for posts, than such as are least fit for them. I do not see how a new Parliament would much mend things here; for there is little choice of men: perhaps it might be for the worse, *rebus sic stantibus*; though I always thought the honest part is, to allow the people to speak their sense on the change of affairs by new representatives. I do not find that those that have embarrassed the present, designed a new one; but they thought the Commons so passive, that they might carry what they pleased, whatever their design might be. If they prosecute the present measures, I believe they will make

¹ *Supra*, p. 274, n. 1.

new ones necessary, when there shall be occasion to have a new session.

I pray most heartily for her Majesty, and her Ministers; and am inclined to believe, that it is one of the most difficult parts of their present circumstances, to find proper instruments to execute their good intentions, notwithstanding the great crowds that offer themselves; particularly, my Lord Treasurer's welfare is at heart with all good men: I am sure, with none more than, Reverend Sir, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

CXXII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Swords,¹ *September 1, 1711.*

REVEREND SIR,

I GOT a little retirement here, and made use of it, to write you by the present packet. I promised to say something as to your own affairs; and the first thing is, not to neglect yourself on this occasion, but to make use of the favour and interest you have at present to procure you some preferment that may be called a settlement. Years come on, and after a certain age, if a man be not in a station that may be a step to a better, he seldom goes higher. It is with men as with beauties, if they pass the flower, they grow stale, and lie for ever neglected. I know you are not ambitious; but it is prudence, not ambition, to get into a station, that may make a man easy, and prevent contempt when he grows in years. You certainly may now have an opportunity to provide for yourself, and I entreat you not to neglect it.²

The second thing that I would desire you to consider is, that God has given you parts and learning, and a happy turn of mind; and that you are answerable for those talents to God: and therefore I advise you, and believe it to be your duty, to set yourself to some serious and useful sub-

¹ *Supra*, p. 271, n. 1.

² "Methinks he should have invited me over," says Swift, in writing to Stella, "and given me some hopes or promises" ("Prose Works," ii, 241).

ject in your profession, and to manage it so that it may be of use to the world. I am persuaded that if you will apply yourself this way, you are well able to do it; and that your knowledge of the world, and reading, will enable you to furnish such a piece, with such uncommon remarks, as will render it both profitable and agreeable, above most things that pass the press. Say not, that most subjects in divinity are exhausted; for, if you look into Dr. Wilkins's heads of matters, which you will find in his *Gift of Preaching*,¹ you will be surprised to find so many necessary and useful heads, that no authors have meddled with. There are some common themes, that have employed multitudes of authors; but the most curious and difficult are in a manner untouched, and a good genius will not fail to produce something new and surprising on the most trite, much more on those that others have avoided, merely because they were above their parts. Assure yourself, that your interest, as well as duty, requires this from you; and you will find, that it will answer some objections against you; if you thus show the world that you have patience and comprehension of thought, to go through with such a subject of weight and learning.²

You will pardon me this freedom, which I assure you proceeds from a sincere kindness, and true value that I have for you. I will add no more, but my hearty prayers for you. I am, Dr. Swift, yours,

WILL. DUBLIN.

¹ "Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching as it falls under the Rules of Art," by John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, of which an eighth edition, "corrected and much enlarged," had been published in 1704.

² Nothing was more calculated to annoy Swift than gratuitous advice such as the Archbishop gave him in this letter. In the opinion of Sir Leslie Stephen ("Swift," p. 78), the Archbishop's "strange knack of irritating his correspondent" was not "without intention"; but Sir Henry Craik ("Life," i, 293) thinks that it was due to misconception of Swift's character, and is surprised that "a man accustomed to associate with Swift should not have seen the inaptness of this solemn trifling."

CXXIII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN ATTERBURY

*September 1, 1711.*SIR,¹

I CONGRATULATE with the College, the University, and the kingdom, and condole with myself, upon your new dignity.² The virtue I would affect by putting my own interests out of the case, has failed me in this juncture. I only consider that I shall want your conversation, your friendship, your protection, and your good offices, when I can least spare them. I would have come among the crowd of those who make you compliments on this occasion, if I could have brought a cheerful countenance with me. I am full of envy. It is too much, in so bad an age, for a person so inclined, and so able to do good, to have so great a scene of showing his inclination and abilities.

If great Ministers take up this exploded custom of rewarding merit, I must retire to Ireland, and wait for better times. The College and you ought to pray for another change at Court, otherwise I can easily foretell that their joy and your quiet will be short. Let me advise you to place your books in moveable cases: lay in no great stock of wine, nor make any great alterations in your lodgings at Christ Church, unless you are sure they are such as your successor will approve and pay for. I am afraid the poor

¹ When Swift made the acquaintance of Atterbury is not ascertained. But it seems probable, from the allusion to that accomplished man in Swift's letter to Hunter (*supra*, p. 135, n. 1), that they were not personally known to each other until political sympathy brought them together, and that they met about eight months before, when Atterbury's name is for the first time mentioned in the *Journal to Stella* in connection with a visit paid to him by Swift ("Prose Works," ii, 95). During Swift's sojourn at Chelsea, where Atterbury resided, their leisure hours were often spent together, and their acquaintance ripened into the intimacy of friendship.

² Atterbury, who had been previously Dean of Carlisle, was then appointed Dean of Christ Church (see "Prose Works," ix, 19). To that dignity, which had been for a long time vacant, he had been designated many months before, and during the summer he had confided to Swift that he was "heartily angry" at being kept in suspense (*ibid.*, ii, 197).

College little thinks of this, *qui nunc te fruitur credulus aured.*

I am going to Windsor with Mr. Secretary; and hope to wait on you either at Bridewell¹ or Chelsea. I am, with great respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

CXXIV. [Sheridan.]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

Windsor Castle, *October 1, 1711.*

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of a long letter from your Grace about a month ago,² which I forbore acknowledging sooner, because I have been ever since perpetually tossed between this and London,³ and partly because there had nothing happened that might make a letter worthy the perusal. It is the opinion of some great persons here, that the words which the House of Commons took amiss in your address, might very well bear an application that concerned only my Lord Wharton.⁴ I find they are against my opinion, that a new Parliament should have been called; but all agree it must now be dissolved: but, in short, we are so extremely busy here, that nothing of Ireland is talked on above a day or two; that of the city election I have oftenest heard of; and the proceeding of your Court in it, it is thought, might have been wiser. I find your Grace seems to be of my opinion, and so I told my Lord Treasurer. I think your Kilmainham project of an address was a very foolish one, and that for the reason

¹ For many years Atterbury held the position of chaplain to the prison known as Bridewell in London. In a contribution to the "Tatler" ("Prose Works," ix, 20), hitherto attributed to Swift (*supra*, p. 166, n. 7), it is said that his action, in which there was "explanation as well as grace," lent peculiar force to his sermons, and made him especially successful in appealing to those whom it was his duty to address as a prison chaplain.

² *Supra*, p. 280.

³ Swift spent every Sunday in the September of that year at Windsor, and also stayed there for the weeks commencing on the third and fifth Sundays.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 271, n. 2.

of those who were against it. I hope Ireland will soon be equally convinced with us here, that, if the Pretender be in anybody's thoughts, it is of those they least dream, and who now are in no condition of doing mischief to any but themselves. As for your Convocation, I believe everything there will terminate in good wishes. You can do nothing now, and will not meet again these two years; and then, I suppose, only to give money, and away. There should, methinks, in the interval, be some proposals considered and agreed upon by the Bishops and principal men of the clergy, to have all ready against the next meeting; and even that I despair of, for a thousand reasons too tedious to mention.

My admiring at the odd proceedings of those among the Bishops and clergy who are angry with me for getting their first fruits, was but a form of speech. I cannot sincerely wonder at any proceedings in numbers of men, and especially—I must venture to say so—in Ireland. Meantime, it is a good jest to hear my Lord Treasurer saying often, before a deal of company, that it was I that got the clergy of Ireland their first fruits; and generally with this addition, that it was before the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord Lieutenant. His Lordship has long designed an answer to the letter he received from the Bishops; he has told me ten times, he would do it to-morrow. He goes to London this day, but I continue here for a week. I shall refresh his memory, and engage my Lord Harley his son to do so too.

I suppose your Grace cannot but hear in general of some steps that are making toward a peace. There came out some time ago an account of Mr Prior's Journey to France, pretended to be a translation: it is a pure invention, from the beginning to the end.¹ I will let your Grace into the

¹ Although an opposite opinion has been generally entertained, it seems to me beyond doubt, as I have already said (*supra*, p. 279, n. 1), that Swift was fully in the confidence of the Ministers as regards the negotiations for peace, in connection with which Matthew Prior had made that summer his celebrated journey to Paris; and it is clearly Swift's desire in the succeeding sentences of this paragraph to go as far as he thought safe in telling the Archbishop that such was the case. Similarly in references to Prior's Journey in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 227, 230, 232, 233), which led Lord Stanhope (*op. cit.*, p. 491) to think that Swift was not intrusted with the secrets of the Ministry, the object is to convey information without appearing

secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the Ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect.¹ Meantime, your Grace may count that a peace is going forward very fast. Mr. Prior was actually in France; and there are now two Ministers from that Court in London, which you may be pretty sure of, if you believe what I tell you, that I supped with them myself in the house where I am now writing, Saturday last;² neither do I find it to be a very great secret; for there were two gentlemen more with us beside the inviter. However, I desire your Grace to say nothing of it, because it may look lightness in me to tell it: Mr. Prior was with us too, but what their names are I cannot tell; for I believe those they passed by when I was there are not their real ones. All matters are agreed between France and us, and very much to the advantage and honour of England; but I believe no farther steps will be taken without giving notice to the allies. I do not tell your Grace one syllable, as coming from any great Minister; and therefore I do not betray them. But, there are other ways of picking out things in a Court; however, I must desire you will not discover any of these little particulars, nor cite me upon any account at all; for, great men may

to know more than the public, and to my mind the words in the concluding reference, "it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France," clearly signify that the public now knew what had been for some time within Swift's knowledge. As set forth in the *Journal to Stella*, the history of the "New Journey to Paris," to which Swift here alludes, was that on 31 August "a project to bite the town" was conceived by Swift; on 3 and 4 September the text was dictated to the printer, and on the 11th of that month the pamphlet was published, and one thousand copies sold before night ("Prose Works," ii, 234, 236, 241; v, 187).

¹ Sir Leslie Stephen found ("Swift," p. 96) it difficult to believe that the pamphlet could have been expected to draw "a false scent across the trail of the angry and suspicious Whigs," much less that it could have actually done so.

² On Thursday 27 September, preliminary articles of peace with England had been signed on behalf of France by Mesnager, a skilful negotiator who had been sent back with Prior, and on Saturday the 29th Mesnager, together with the Abbé Gaultier, who had long been engaged in furthering the negotiations ("Prose Works," x, 53), was granted a secret audience by the Queen at Windsor.

think I tell things from them, although I have them from other hands; in which last case only, I venture to repeat them to one I can confide in, and one at so great a distance as your Grace.

I humbly thank your Grace for the good opinion you are pleased to have of me; and for your advice, which seems to be wholly grounded on it. As to the first, which relates to my fortune, I shall never be able to make myself believed how indifferent I am about it. I sometimes have the pleasure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a pleasure to be a virtue, at least in me. Perhaps in Ireland, I may not be able to prevent contempt any other way than by making my fortune; but then it is my comfort, that contempt in Ireland will be no sort of mortification to me. When I was last in Ireland, I was above half the time retired to one scurvy acre of ground; and I always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at Court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and will perhaps leave it now—when they please to let me—without any concern, but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great Ministers to do as they please; and if I cannot distinguish myself enough by being useful in such a way as becomes a man of conscience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will solicit for myself, although I often do for others.

The other part of your Grace's advice, to be some way useful to the Church and the public by any talent you are pleased to think I possess, is the only thing for which I should desire some settlement that would make me full master of my time. I have often thought of some subjects, wherein I believe I might succeed; but, my Lord, to ask a man floating at sea what he designed to do when he goes on shore, is too hasty a question; let him get there first, and rest and dry himself, and then look about him. I have been pretty well known to several great men in my life; and it was their duty, if they thought I might have been of use, to put me into a capacity for it; but I never yet knew one great man in my life, who was not every day swayed by other motives in distributing his favours, whatever resolutions he had pretended to make to the contrary.¹

¹ On the margin of a copy of this letter in the Forster Collection, Forster, who considered the letter a most valuable one, writes here

I was saying a thing the other day to my Lord Keeper, which he approved of, and which I believe may be the reason of this: it was, that persons of transcendent merit forced their way in spite of all obstacles; but those whose merit was of a second, third, or fourth rate, were seldom able to do any thing because the knaves and dunces of the world had all the impudence, assiduity, flattery, and servile compliance divided among them, which kept them perpetually in the way, and engaged everybody to be their solicitors. I was asking a great Minister, a month ago, how he could possibly happen to pick out a certain person to employ in a commission of discovering abuses, who was the most notorious for the constant practice of the greatest abuses in that very kind, and was very well known not to be at all reformed. He said, he knew all this; but what would I have him to do. I answered, send any one of your footmen, and command him to choose out the first likely genteel fellow he sees in the streets; for such a one might possibly be honest, but he¹ was sure the other was not, and yet they have employed him.

I promise your Grace that this shall be the last sally I shall ever make to a court, and that I will return as soon as I can have leave. I have no great pleasure in my present manner of living, often involved in things that perplex me very much, and which try my patience to the utmost; teased every day by solicitors, who have so little sense as to think I have either credit or inclination to be theirs, although they see I am able to get nothing for myself.² But I find I am grown very tedious, and therefore conclude, with the greatest respect, my Lord, etc.

"there is character in all this and I wonder if the Archbishop suspected all it includes; he had himself doubtless uncomfortable recollections of having formerly obstructed Swift's advancement when he might have promoted it."

¹ *I.e.*, the great Minister.

² As Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 293), in this letter Swift expresses his resentment "with singular dignity and with little show of anger."

CXXV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *October 27,*¹ 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE before me yours of the 1st instant, but have been so employed with attending Parliament, Convocation, and Privy Council, that I could neither compose my thoughts to write, nor find time. Besides, our business is all in a hurry; and I may say in fine, that things admit of no perfect account. On Wednesday the Corn Bill, which the Commons seemed to value most, was thrown out;² because it reserved a power to the Lord Lieutenant and Council here, to prohibit or permit the transportation of grain at any time. There was a design to fall on the Privy Council upon this occasion; but gentlemen would not come into it; which showed they had some wit in their anger. And I am still of opinion, that, with tolerable good management, this would have been as quiet a session as has been in Ireland; but the Dublin business, the address of the Lords, Langton's affair,³ and now Higgins's,⁴ have exasperated the Commons to such a height, that will, as you observe, make this Parliament to be impracticable any longer. It is true, the Lords' address might have been interpreted to aim at Lord Wharton, and was partly so intended; but it was ill expressed to bear that sense; and besides, what did it signify for us to show our resentment, when it could only provoke a great man to revenge, and could not reach him?⁵

As to the first fruits and twentieth parts, nobody here dare say, that anybody, beside the Duke of Ormond, procured them, but his Grace himself; who, for aught I can learn, never assumed, either publicly or privately, any such merit to himself; and yet I confess it is not amiss that it should be thought he did those things. For he could not

¹ It is evident from the contents that the whole letter cannot have been written on that day. Possibly the 29th has been misread the 27th, or the letter was not completed on the day it was begun.

² On Wednesday the 25th "An Act for the Encouragement of Tillage" was rejected by the Commons.

³ *Supra*, p. 281.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 294.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 288.

think of governing the kingdom, if it be not believed that he has great interest at Court; and if that did not appear by some favours of moment obtained for the kingdom, none would suppose it. He is truly a modest, generous, and honest man; and assure yourself, that whatever disturbance he has met with, proceeds from his sticking too close to his friends.¹ It is a pity such a fault should hurt a man.

I send you enclosed the papers that relate to Mr. Higgins. Lord Santry was heard against him, before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, [on] October 27th: he was allowed only to prove the articles in his petition, that are marked with P,² and he seemed to prove them pretty fully; but Mr. Higgins not having yet made his defence, I can give no judgement. By the testimony of the Lower House of Convocation in his favour, you will see how heartily they

¹ A month before Swift had remarked to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 244) that the Duke was governed by fools, and had usually much more sense than his advisers, but never proceeded by it.

² After a period of partial eclipse, the Rev. Francis Higgins had, as already mentioned (*supra*, p. 224, n. 1), become again conspicuous by promoting Langton's allegations, and now gained the character of a martyr by some ill-advised proceedings taken against him by the Whig party in Dublin. At the time of his visit to London Higgins was on the commission of the peace for the county of Dublin, but subsequently, as his sermons resulted in his being indicted and imprisoned for some weeks, he was superseded. This indignity was imputed by the Tories to Whig malignity, and as soon as Ireland came under Tory rule Higgins was again placed on the commission for his county. From "A Full and Impartial Account of the Tryal of the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins, Prebendary of Christ Church in Dublin, before his Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, etc., occasion'd by a Presentment of the Grand Jury of the County of Dublin" (Lond., 1712), it appears that on the occasion of Higgins taking his seat for the first time after his reinstatement at Quarter Sessions, an extraordinary scene occurred while the magistrates were dining together, the protagonists being Lord Santry, an Irish peer of strong Whig proclivities, and the redoubtable Higgins, and the battle raging round the toasts that were proposed to the company. As soon as the dinner was over, Lord Santry and his friends invaded the Grand Jury room and induced that body to present Higgins "as a common disturber of her Majesty's peace and a sower of seditious and groundless jealousies amongst her Majesty's Protestant subjects," and to ask the bench to join with them in laying the presentment before the Lord Chancellor in order that Higgins might be again superseded. By the Lord Chancellor the matter was brought before the Council, who decided to hear evidence, which they tried, not very successfully, to keep within reasonable limits.

espouse him.¹ And surely both pains and art have been used to screen him: with what effect you shall hear when the matter is concluded. I wish every good man may meet with as good and as fast friends as he has done. I send you likewise the votes, that kept the Commons in debate, from eleven in the morning till seven at night. The question was carried in the negative by two accidents: the going out of one member, by chance, to speak to somebody at the putting the question; and the coming in of another, in his boots, at the very minute. If either had not happened, it had gone the other way.² The personal affection to the Duke of Ormond divided the House. If they could have separated him from some others, the majority had been great. You may easily from this see, what way the bent of the kingdom goes; and that garbling corporations no way pleases them.

We have several printed accounts of preliminaries of the peace; but I believe them all amusements; for I imagine none of the common scribblers know anything of them at all. I pray God they may be such as may secure us from a new war; though, I believe, the death of the Emperor makes a lasting peace much more difficult than before. That depends on a balance, and to that three things seem so necessary, that any two may stop the third; but now all is reduced to two. I reckon, as soon as the peace is settled, the Dauphin will be taken out of the way, and then France and Spain will fall into one hand: a surmise I have had in mind ever since Philip got Spain; and I was of opinion,

¹ That House passed a resolution in which they declared that Higgins, who had been a member throughout Queen Anne's reign, had always "behaved himself agreeably to the character of the sacred function of a clergyman, and hath both in his life and doctrine upon all occasions shown himself to be an orthodox Divine, a good Christian, and a loyal subject."

² On 29 October, on a motion being made for returns relating to the disputed elections of mayors and sheriffs (*supra*, pp. 281, 282), the previous question was moved, and on a division the yeas numbered 108, and the noes 109. This is not the only case in which a division is said to have been carried in the Irish House of Commons by a member ignoring the conventionalities of that time and invading the House in outdoor dress, as at a later period a resolution is said to have been similarly carried against the Government of the day by a member of the Tottenham family, who was long toasted as "Tottenham in his boots," and was depicted by a famous artist ascending the steps of the Houses of Parliament in travelling dress.

that if we could have been secured against this accident, there had been no need of a war at all.

As to the Convocation, I told you formerly how we lost all the time of the recess,¹ by a precipitate adjournment made by five Bishops, when the Archbishop of Tuam, and as many of us as were of the Privy Council, were absent, attending at the board, upon a hearing of the Quakers against the Bill for Recovery of Tithes. Since the meeting of the Parliament, after the recess, we have attended pretty closely, have drawn up and agreed to six or seven canons,² and have drawn up a representation of the state of religion as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and Popery. We have gone through likewise, and agreed to, a part of this; but I doubt we shall not be able to finish it. We have also before us the consideration of residence, and the means of converting Papists. This last sent up from the Lower House. But I reckon it not possible to finish these things this session.³ I need not tell you, that my Lord Primate's indisposition⁴ is a great clog to dispatch; but he is resolved none else shall have the chair. So we dispense with many things, that otherwise I believe we should not. We had only two Church bills at this time: one for unions, which was thrown out in our House; and another for recovery of

¹ As was usual in order to allow the Bills to be transmitted for the approval of the British Privy Council, the Irish Parliament adjourned for a month in the middle of the session of that year, and Convocation followed this example.

² The canons—five in number—had relation chiefly to proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts (Mant, *op. cit.*, ii, 231).

³ As appears from an interesting letter from Richardson (*supra*, p. 274, n. 1) to the Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (Brit. Mus., Sloane 4276, f. 100) time was found in the Upper House of Convocation to consider the resolutions about converting the Irish sent up by the Lower House, but "they were rejected," says Richardson, "by the influence of a prelate whom I need not mention." These resolutions, which had been carried in the Lower House in the teeth of prolonged and strenuous opposition, were in favour of the employment of Irish speaking clergymen, of the endowment of schools, of the printing of Bibles and Books of Common Prayer in Irish, and of an application to the Queen to incorporate a society to carry out these proposals. An effort had also been made that session to introduce a bill into the House of Commons for the same object; but just as "the heads of the bill were brought to the door of the House" Parliament adjourned for the recess (*supra*, n. 1), and the bill could not be subsequently introduced.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 225, n. 1.

tithes, which I understand will be thrown out by the Commons. Our session draws near an end, and everybody is tired of it.

WILL. DUBLIN.

CXXVI. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

October 31, 1711.

TO-DAY we had another hearing at Council, concerning Mr. Higgins's business.¹ Some of his witnesses were examined. So far as we have yet heard, it does not appear to me, that they have yet cleared him of tampering with witnesses, shifting recognisances, or compounding felonies; but, it is said, these things are common in the country; and perhaps that will save him. And I know not how far his other witnesses, that are yet to be examined, may clear him. The hearing lasted above three hours.² I was unwilling to make this packet too large, so I have enclosed the other prints in another. I want some affidavits of gentlemen, in which they depose Mr. Higgins's case to contain many falsehoods.³ I am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

CXXVII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, November 1, 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE considered that part of your letter that relates to your own concerns.⁴ I find you, in earnest, very indifferent

¹ *Supra*, p. 294, n. 2.

² There were further hearings on two subsequent days, and on the question "whether Higgins should be continued in the commission of the peace," seventeen of the Council voted in the affirmative, and six in the negative. Politics rather than law ruled both the decision and the proceedings, and the Archbishop, who voted in the minority, seems to have been influenced by the view that the clergy were unfit for civil offices, and were sufficiently occupied in discharging their sacred functions.

³ Higgins's case and the affidavits are included in the pamphlet already cited.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 291.

as to making your fortune; but you ought not to be so, for a weighty reason you insinuate yourself, that you cannot, without a settlement, be master of your time in such a manner, as to apply yourself to do something that may be useful to the Church. I know it is not in your power to do it when you please: but something may be done toward it. Get but a letter to the Government,¹ from my Lord Treasurer, for the first good preferment; and you will, at the same time, fill it with a good man, and perhaps prevent a bad one from getting into it. Sure there is no immodesty in getting such a recommendation. Consider that years grow upon you; and after fifty both body and mind decay. I have several things on the anvil, and near finished, that perhaps might be useful, if published; but the continual avocation by business, the impositions on me by impertinent visits, and the uneasiness of writing, which grows more intolerable to me every day, I doubt, will prevent my going any farther. Therefore lose no time; *qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit*. I am sure, you are able to do good service; and give me leave to be importunate with you to go about it. Caesar wrote his Commentaries under the hurry and fatigues of a General; and perhaps a man's spirit is never more awakened, nor his thoughts better, than in the intervals of a hurry of business. Read Erasmus's life, and you will find it was almost a continual journey.

You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works.² This makes it necessary that you should shame those varlets, by something that may enlighten the world, which I am sure your

¹ *I.e.*, the Irish Executive.

² The reference is evidently to the "Miscellanies by Dr. Jonathan Swift," published in that year by Edmund Curll ("Prose Works," xii, 125). The contents of this little volume comprise the "Meditation upon a Broomstick" and four of Swift's poems, to which is prefixed the "Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub" (*supra*, p. 184, n. 1). There was also published early in that year by John Morphew, "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," which contains Swift's tracts on religious subjects, as well as many of his poems. In that volume his name is not mentioned. The collection which it contains is the one to which allusion is made in Swift's letter to Tooke (*supra*, p. 185), with the addition of the "Letter upon the Sacramental Test" and the poem upon "Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod." It is difficult to believe that the author had so little part in the publication as the publisher's notes assert.

genius will reach, if you set yourself to it. If I had the honour to have any correspondence with my Lord Treasurer, I would certainly complain of you to him, and get his Lordship to join in this request, which, I persuade myself, he would readily do, if put in mind. I do not in the least fear that you will be angry with me for this, since you cannot suspect my sincerity and kindness in it; and though I shall be angry with you, if you neglect yourself and [your] interest, yet it shall go no farther, than to be a trouble to myself, but no abatement of the real friendship of yours, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN.

CXXVIII. [*Scott.*]

SWIFT TO MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH

[November 7, 1711.]

I HAVE writ three or four lies in as many lines. Pray seal up the letter to Mrs. L[ong], and let nobody read it but yourself. I suppose this packet will lie two or three hours till you awake. And pray let the outside starched letter to you be seen, after you have sealed that to Mrs. L[ong]. See what arts people must [use,] though they mean ever so well. Now are you and Puppy lying at your ease, without dreaming anything of all this. Adieu, till we meet over a pot of coffee, or an orange and sugar, in the sluttery, which I have so often found to be the most agreeable chamber in the world.¹

Addressed—To Little Misessy.

¹ As appears from "A Decree for concluding the Treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long" ("Prose Works," xi, 386), an acquaintance between Swift and Vanessa had existed for a considerable time. Vanessa was the daughter of a Dutch merchant resident in Dublin, to whose services and influence with William III that city owes a collar of SS, which is the proud badge of its chief civic officer. It is said that Bartholomew Vanhomrigh began his career in Amsterdam, but he was well established in Dublin, and had attained to the position of an alderman of that city before the Revolution. About the time of that event he fled to England and obtained the post of Commissary General to King William's Irish army, in which his knowledge of the Dutch language made him especially valuable. After the battle of the Boyne he settled again in Dublin, and, as Sir Frederick Falkner

CXXIX. [*Hawkesworth.*]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November 10, 1711.*

REVEREND SIR,

PERHAPS it will not be ungrateful to you, to know our session of Parliament ended on Friday last.¹ We threw out in the House of Lords two bills: that against fines in the city of Dublin, and about quit-rents; and voted an address, in opposition to the Commons' address about Revolution principles.² We likewise burned Mr. Stoughton's sermon, preached at Christ Church on the 30th of January, some years ago.³ The House were pleased to vote me thanks for prosecuting him, which, you may remember, I

says ("Foundation of the Hospital of Charles II, Dublin," pp. 116-119), filled the office of Lord Mayor with great advantage to his adopted city. For a time he occupied also a seat in the Irish Parliament as member for Londonderry, and was one of the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue. He had died at the close of the year 1703, (he was buried in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, on 1 January, 1703-4), and left his widow with four children—Esther, who was "recorded and enrolled" free of the city of Dublin in 1688, Ginkel, Bartholomew, and Mary. A letter from Mrs. Vanhomrigh, which will be found in Appendix VI, shows that four years after her husband's death she moved with her "young family" from Dublin to London, where she took up her abode in lodgings. Soon afterwards Swift appears to have been introduced to her, and before leaving London he must have become intimate with Vanessa as they corresponded while he was in Ireland (see Appendix III). The present letter indicates that since his return to London their intercourse had been frequent, and probably Swift had dined oftener with "Mrs. Van" than the Journal to Stella clearly disclosed. Apparently the ground for this letter was that Miss Long had written to Swift nearly a year before from King's Lynn, where she had taken refuge from her creditors, and that in his answer, which was written on the date given above (see Appendix III), Swift excused the long delay in sending a reply by saying that he had forgotten her address, and had only obtained it through Vanessa, who was her cousin (*infra*, Letter CXXXII).

¹ The previous day.

² In this address the Lords asserted that the words used by the Commons, "the encouragement of sound Revolution principles" could not, "in good sense or good grammar be referred to the late Revolution since adherence to the late Revolution was a distinct motive of itself," and further said that it was "the known nature of principles to be as well the rule and guide of future as of past actions."

³ Stoughton's sermon (*supra*, p. 138, n. 2) had been kept alive by the publication in the previous year of a pamphlet entitled "Vindiciae

did in a difficult time, notwithstanding the opposition I had from the Government, and his protection by Lord Ikerrin,¹ which he pleaded in court: and yet I followed him so close, that I forced him out of his living. After this, we burned Mr. Boyse's book of a Scriptural Bishop;² and some Observators.³ Our address was brought in yesterday; in which sure we are even with the Commons. I forgot to tell you, we agreed to another address against Dissenting ministers, and their twelve hundred pounds per annum.⁴ The Commons made an address to my Lord Lieutenant, in which they bring him in for Revolution principles.⁵ "The Memorial of the Church of England"⁶ was

Stoughtonianæ," in which the sermon is dissected by "a well-wisher of Isaac Bickerstaff" with merciless severity. It would not be surprising if Swift had some share in this production. Under the order of the House of Lords, the sermon was ordered to be burned as "a scandalous and seditious libel, highly reflecting on the honour and piety of the Royal Martyr King Charles I," by the hands of the common hangman before the door of the House of Lords and of the Tholsel.

¹ The reference must be to Pierce, fourth Viscount Ikerrin, who died in 1710; but one would hardly have expected to find an upholder of Stoughton in that nobleman, as he had suffered outlawry for his adherence to James II.

² This was a sermon by the Rev. Joseph Boyse ("Prose Works," iv, *passim*). The resolutions of the Lords related to the volume in which it appeared, and were: "that a book entitled 'Sermons preached on Various Subjects, vol. i, by J. B. Dublin, printed by S. Powell for the use of the author 1708' is false and scandalous and contains matter highly reflecting on the Legislature and on the Episcopal Order," and "that the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin do cause the said book to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman to-morrow at twelve of the clock before the Tholsel."

³ The copies of the "Observator" (*supra*, p. 128) which were ordered to be burned were those for August 18-22 and 22-25.

⁴ This grant, which became known as the Regium Donum, had been first made by William III. The Government complied with the address, and during the remainder of Queen Anne's reign the grant was unpaid.

⁵ In thanking Ormond for his excellent administration, and for the legislation which he had promoted, the Commons added, "nor can we be unmindful of the great and early share your Grace had in the late happy Revolution, and your steady adherence to the principles thereof."

⁶ "The Memorial of the Church of England humbly offered to the consideration of all true Lovers of our Church and Constitution," which was first published in London in 1705, was presented soon after its appearance by the Grand Jury of London and Middlesex, and burned by the hangman.

reprinted here and dedicated to my Lord Lieutenant. This was brought into the House of Commons, and I doubt, would not have escaped, if the Usher of the Black Rod had not called them up to the prorogation. Langton's business came likewise into the House of Lords, and when the House was full of ladies, an offer was made to receive the report of the committee, which contained many sheets of paper.¹ A great debate happened upon it: but at last it was waived, and ordered to be laid before the Lord Lieutenant. In short, we parted in very ill humour: and I apprehend that the minds of the generality are not easy. My Lord Duke of Ormond, so far as I could take it, made a very modest and healing speech; and his Grace seemed in it to be altogether disinterested in parties.² All these you have in public; and if you think it worth while, I will take care to send them as they are printed.

As to our Convocation, those who had loitered and done nothing before last week, pressed on the representation of the state of religion, as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and Popery: it will, in some time, be printed. I had many reasons, but insisted only on two: first, its imputing all vices to us, as if we were the worst of people in the world, not allowing any good among us; secondly, not assigning it a cause of the natives continuing Papists, that no care was ever taken to preach to them in their own language, or translating the service into Irish. You will find the matter in Heylyn's Reformation (2nd Eliz. 1560, p. 128).³

¹ "The Whole Report of the Right Honourable Committee of the House of Lords in Ireland appointed by their Lordships to take into Consideration the Examination of Dominick Langton, Clerk, against Lewis Meares, and other Gentlemen of the County of Westmeath, and the Proceedings thereupon," was published in London by John Morphew in 1713. In their findings the committee (upon it is to be feared slender grounds) gave Langton a high character as a faithful minister, exonerated him from all duplicity, and suggested that her Majesty should be asked to restore Langton's pension of which the Commons had deprived him.

² The Duke dwelt on his desire that his government should be marked by its ease and impartiality, and urged the necessity of "a good agreement" amongst those he addressed.

³ The reference is to the second edition of "Ecclesia Restaurata or the History of the Reformation of the Church of England," by Peter Heylyn, D.D., which was published in 1670. Heylyn attributes the adherence of the Irish to the Roman Catholic religion to the omission

I was forced to use art to procure this protest to be admitted, without which they would not have allowed me to offer reasons, as I had cause to believe.

Both the Parliament and Convocation have been so ordered, as to make us appear the worst people in the world, disloyal to her Majesty, and enemies to the Church; and I suspect, with a design to make us appear unworthy to have any countenance or preferment in our native country. When the representation is printed, I will, if you think it worth your while, send you my protest. We agreed likewise in some canons of no great moment,¹ and some forms of prayer,² and forms of receiving Papists and sectaries; which, I think, are too strait. I brought in a paper about residence; but here was no time to consider it, nor that which related to the means of converting Papists. I did not perceive any zeal that way. A great part of our representation relates to sectaries; and many things, in the whole, seem to me not defensible. I told you before, how we lost six weeks, during the adjournment of the Parliament;³ and since it sat, we could only meet in the afternoon, and I was frequently in Council; so that I was neither present when it was brought into the House, when it passed for the most part, or was sent down in parcels, in foul rased papers, that I could not well read, if I had an opportunity; and never heard it read through before it past.

I believe most are agreed, that if my advice had been taken, this would have been the peaceablest session ever was in Ireland; whereas it has been one of the most boisterous. I believe it was his Grace the Duke of Ormond's interest to have it quiet; but then the managers'

to provide in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the translation of the Scriptures and Book of Common Prayer into their language, and points out that the statute requiring their attendance at the reading of the English version provided "the Papists with an excellent argument against ourselves for having the Divine Service celebrated in such a language as the people do not understand."

¹ *Supra*, p. 296, n. 2.

² Three forms of prayer were added to the Irish Book of Common Prayer as a result of the deliberations of Convocation in that year, viz., one for the visitation of prisoners, another for prisoners under sentence of death, and a third for imprisoned debtors (Mant, *op. cit.*, ii, 233).

³ *Supra*, p. 296.

conduct has showed themselves to be necessary.¹ I have wearied myself with this scroll, and perhaps you will do so likewise. I am, etc.

WILL. DUBLIN

CXXX. [*Original.*²]

HENRY ST. JOHN TO SWIFT

Hampton Court, *November 16, 1711*

I RETURN you the sheet, which is, I think, very correct. Sunday morning I hope to see you. I am sincerely

Your hearty friend and obedient servant,

H. ST. JOHN

I have a vile story to tell you of the moral philosopher Steele.

CXXXI. [*Original.*]

HENRY ST. JOHN TO SWIFT

November 17, 1711

DEAR DOCTOR,

I ASK pardon for my mistake, and I send you the right paper. I am, in sickness and in health, ever

Your faithful friend, and obedient servant,

H. ST. JOHN

Addressed—To the Reverend Dr. Swift.

¹ The system of managing the Irish Parliament through "undertakers," which became so marked a feature in the Irish government fifty years later, had apparently already begun.

² The originals of this letter and the following one are in the British Museum. See Preface.

³ This was evidently a proof of one of the sheets of "The Conduct of the Allies" ("Prose Works," v, 57), which was published on the 27th of that month. A few days before Swift had told Stella that it was necessary to have the text revised by "three or four great people" and that he was as "weary as a dog" owing to the trouble which the pamphlet involved (*ibid.*, ii, 278).



CXXXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

MISS ANNE LONG TO SWIFT

November 18, 1711.

IF you will again allow me the pleasure of hearing from you, without murmuring, I will let you enjoy that of laughing at me for any foolish word I misapply; for I know you are too reasonable to expect me to be nicely right in the matter; but then when you take a fancy to be angry, pray let me know it quietly, that I may clear my meanings, which are always far from offending my friends, however unhappy I may be in my expressions. Could I expect you to remember any part of my letters so long ago, I would ask you, that you should know where to find me when you had a mind to it; but I suppose you were in a romantic strain, and designed to have surprised me talking to myself in a wood, or by the sea.¹ Forgive the dulness of my apprehension, and if telling you that I am at Lynn will not do, I will print it, however inconvenient it may yet be to me; for I am not the better for the old lady's death,² but am put in hopes of being easy at Christmas; however, I shall still continue to be Mrs. Smyth, near St. Nicholas's Church in the town aforesaid. So much for my affairs. Now as to my health, that was much out of order last summer; my distemper was a dropsy or asthma—you know what I mean, but I cannot spell it right—or both,

¹ This celebrated lady—the toast of the Kit-cat Club—

With eternal beauty blest,
Ever blooming, still the best

("Prose Works," xi, 385) had written to Swift in the previous December a letter containing one or two passages which he thought unworthy of her (*ibid.*, ii, 70), and on that account he seems to have delayed his reply, in which he pretended that he had forgotten her address (*supra*, p. 299, n. 1). On account of financial difficulties she had retired to King's Lynn, where she was known under the name of Smyth, before Swift came to London in 1710.

² On the death of this lady, who is said to have been Miss Long's paternal grandmother, the widow of Sir James Long, of Draycot Cerne, and daughter of Sir Edward Leach, of Shipley, Miss Long was entitled to £2,000 ("Prose Works," ii, 305).

lazy distempers, which I was too lazy to molest while they would let me sit in quiet; but when they grew so unreasonable as not to let me do that, I applied myself to Dr. Inglis,¹ by whose advice I am now well enough.

To give you the best account I can of this place, the ladies will make any returns, if one may believe what they say of one another; the men I know little of, for I am here, what you have often upbraided me with, a prude in everything but censuring my neighbours. A couple of divines, two aldermen, and a custom-house officer, are all my men acquaintance; the gay part of the town I know nothing of, and although for the honour of the place I will suppose there are good poets, yet that I never inquired after. I have a shelf pretty well filled at home, but want a Miscellany Mr. Steele put out last year: Miss Hessy promised it me, but has forgot it; I fancy you have interest enough with him to get it for me.² I wish too at your leisure you would make a pedigree for me; the people here want sadly to know what I am; I pretend to no more than being of George Smyth's family of Nitly, but do not talk much of it for fear of betraying myself; so they fancy some mystery to be in the matter, and would give their rivals place to be satisfied. At first they thought I came hither to make my fortune, by catching up some of their young fellows; but having avoided that sort of company, I am still a riddle they know not what to make of.

Many of them seem to love me well enough; for I hear all they say of one another without making mischief among them, and give them tea and coffee when I have it, which are the greatest charms I can boast of. The fine lady I have left to Moll, who I suppose was at the Bath,³ or any

¹ John Inglis, who has been previously mentioned (*supra*, p. 112), was physician in ordinary to Queen Anne, and had acted in a similar capacity to William III. In the Court of George II he held the office of Assistant Master of the Ceremonies. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society. His death took place on 8 May, 1740.

² The book which Vanessa had promised to send Miss Long was the "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," which had been published by Morphew that year. As mentioned above (*supra*, p. 298, n. 2), they were the collection which had been left with Tooke, and which was to have been prefaced with an introduction from Steele (*supra*, p. 185).

³ Moll was Vanessa's younger sister. She was then only seventeen—her baptism took place in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, on 7 September, 1694. Possibly she had gone to Bath for her health, as she seems to have been always delicate.

other that will take it up: for I am grown a good housewife; I can pot and pickle, Sir, and handle a needle very prettily—see Miss Hessy's scarf—I think that is improving mightily. If Miss Hessy keeps company with the eldest Hatton, and is still a politician, she is not the girl I took her for; but to me she seems melancholy. Sure Mr. St. John is not so altered but he will make returns; but how can I pretend to judge of any thing, when my poor cousin¹ is taken for an hermaphrodite—a thing I as little suspected her for as railing at anybody: I know so little cause for it, that I must be silent. I hear but little of what is done in the world, but should be glad the Ministry did themselves the justice to distinguish men of merit: may I wish you joy of any preferment? I shall do it heartily: but if you have got nothing, I am busy to as much purpose as you, although my employments are next to picking straws. O! but you are acquainted with my Lord Fitzhardinge,² for which I rejoice with you, and am,

Your most obedient servant,

ANNE LONG.

CXXXIII. [*Nichols*.³]

SWIFT TO THE REV. THOMAS PYLE

London, *December 26, 1711.*

SIR,⁴

THAT you may not be surprised with a letter utterly unknown to you, I will tell you the occasion of it. The lady who lived near two years in your neighbourhood, and

¹ It is not clear how Miss Long was related to Vanessa. Her father, who did not succeed to the baronetcy then held by the family, as he died before his own father, is said to have married as his second wife Mrs. Mary Keightley, whose family had connection with Ireland, and probably the relationship was through her and Mrs. Vanhomrigh, whose maiden name was Stone, and whose near relations were concerned in the collection of the Irish revenue.

² *Supra*, p. 144, n. 5.

³ This letter has also been printed in "Notes and Queries," II, ii, 182.

⁴ Pyle, who gained some reputation as a disputant during the Bangorian controversy ("D. N. B.," xlvii, 74), was the minister of the church at Lynn to which Miss Long refers in the above letter. Miss Long, to whose letter Swift had sent an answer a week before, died on the 22nd of December.

whom you was so kind to visit under the name of Mrs. Smyth, was Mrs. Anne Long, sister to Sir James Long, and niece of Colonel Strangwayes:¹ she was of as good a private family as most in England, and had every valuable quality of body and mind that could make a lady loved and esteemed. Accordingly she was always valued here above most of her sex, and by most distinguished persons. But, by the unkindness of her friends, and the generosity of her own nature, and depending upon the death of a very old grandmother, which did not happen till it was too late, contracted some debts that made her uneasy here, and in order to clear them was content to retire unknown to your town, where I fear her death has been hastened by melancholy, and perhaps the want of such assistance as she might have found here.

I thought fit to signify this to you, partly to let you know how valuable a person you have lost, but chiefly to desire that you will please to bury her in some part of your church near a wall where a plain marble stone may be fixed, as a poor monument for one who deserved so well, and which, if God sends me life, I hope one day to place there, if no other of her friends will think fit to do it. I had the honour of an intimate acquaintance with her, and was never so sensibly touched with any one's death as with hers. Neither did I ever know a person of either sex with more virtues, or fewer infirmities: the only one she had, which was the neglect of her own affairs, arising wholly from the goodness of her temper. I write not this to you at all as a secret, but am content your town should know what an excellent person they have had among them.

If you visited her any short time before her death, or knew any particulars about it, or of the state of her mind, or the nature of her disease, I beg you will be so obliging to inform me; for the letter we have seen from her poor maid is so imperfect by her grief for the death of so good a lady, that it only tells the time of her death; and your letter may, if you please, be directed to Dr. Swift, and put

¹ Miss Long's brother, who is said by Swift to have treated his sister with little consideration ("Prose Works," ii, 305), had succeeded to the family baronetcy on the death of their grandfather. His mother—their father's first wife—was a daughter of Colonel Strangwayes, a well-known cavalier, and it is probable that Swift refers to him, and made a mistake as to the relationship.

under a cover, which cover may be directed to Erasmus Lewis,¹ Esq. at the Earl of Dartmouth's Office, at Whitehall. I hope you will forgive this trouble for the occasion of it, and give some allowances to so great a loss, not only to me, but to all who have any regard for every perfection that human nature can possess; and if any way I can serve or oblige you, I shall be glad of an opportunity of obeying your commands. I am, etc.

JON. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Rev. Mr. Pyle, Minister of Lynn, Norfolk.

CXXXIV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO DEAN STEARNE

London, *December 29, 1711.*

SIR,

THE reason I have not troubled you this long time with my letters, was, because I would not disturb the quiet you live in, and which the greatest and wisest men here would envy, if they knew; and which it is one part of your happiness that they do not.² I have often sent the Archbishop political letters, of which I suppose you have had part. I have some weeks ago received a letter from his Grace, which I design to acknowledge in a short time—as I desire you will please to tell him—when things here come to some issue; and so we expect they will do in a little time. You know what an unexpected thing fell out the first day of this session in the House of Lords, by the caprice, discontent, or some worse motive of the Earl of Nottingham.³

¹ Erasmus Lewis was a great friend of the Vanhomrighs, and is remembered by Vanessa in her will.

² On 6 November Swift says to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 276), "I design to write to your Dean one of these days, but I can never find time, nor what to say."

³ The events attending the great political crisis of that month, of which, as well as of the actors in it, further information is given in the "Prose Works," are well summarized in this letter. Swift's contributions to the support of the Government after the publication of the "Conduct of the Allies," seem to have been two ballads—an unidentified one, which was apparently finished on 24 November, and "An Excellent New Song," which was finished on 6 December ("Prose Works," ii, 287, 294).

In above twenty years, that I have known something of Courts, I never observed so many odd, dark, unaccountable circumstances in any public affair. A majority against the Court, carried by five or six depending Lords, who owed the best of their bread to pensions from the Court, and who were told by the public enemy, that what they did would be pleasing to the Queen, though it was openly levelled against the first Minister's head: again, those whose purse-strings and heart-strings were the same, all on a sudden scattering their money to bribe votes:¹ a Lord, who had been so far always a Tory, as often to be thought in the Pretender's interest, giving his vote for the ruin of all his old friends, caressed by those Whigs, who hated and abhorred him:² the Whigs all chiming in with a Bill against Occasional Conformity;³ and the very Dissenting ministers agreeing to it, for reasons that nobody alive can tell;⁴ a resolution of breaking the treaty of peace, without any possible scheme for continuing the war; and all this owing to a doubtfulness, or inconstancy in one certain quarter, which, at this distance, I dare not describe;⁵ neither do I find any one person, though deepest in affairs, who can tell what steps to take. On January the 2nd, the House of Lords is to meet, and it is expected, they will go on in their votes and addresses against a peace.

On the other side, we are endeavouring to get a majority, and have called up two Earls' sons to the House of Peers; and I thought six more would have been called, and perhaps they may before Wednesday. We expect the Duke of Somerset⁶ and Lord Cholmondeley⁷ will lose their places; but it is not yet done, and we wish for one more change at Court, which you must guess.⁸ To know upon

¹ The allusion is to the part supposed to have been taken by the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough.

² Nottingham is of course the person indicated.

³ *Supra*, p. 38, n. 2.

⁴ There was a very notable exception, however, in the person of the Rev. John Shower ("D. N. B.," lii, 162). In Appendix VII there will be found a letter from him to Harley, deploring the course taken by his brethren, together with a reply which is said to have been written by Swift.

⁵ The Queen, who was then supposed to be more under the influence of the Duchess of Somerset than of Mrs. Masham.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 278, n. 2.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 195, n. 3.

⁸ The removal of the Duchess of Somerset was the much desired event. Swift's occupation that Christmas had been the composition

what small circumstances, and by what degrees, this change has been brought about, would require a great deal more than I can, or dare write.

There is not one which I did not give warning of, to those chiefly concerned, many months ago; and so did some others, for they were visible enough. This must infallibly end either in an entire change of measures and ministry, or in a firm establishment of our side. Delay, and tenderness to an inveterate party, have been very instrumental to this ill state of affairs. They tell me you in Ireland are furious against a peace; and it is a great jest to see people in Ireland furious for or against anything.

I hope to see you in spring, when travelling weather comes on. But I have a mind to see the issue of this session. I reckon your hands are now out of mortar, and that your garden is finished;¹ and I suppose you have now one or two fifty pounds ready for books, which I will lay out for you, if you will give me directions. I have increased my own little library very considerably; I mean, as far as one fifty pounds, which is very considerable for me. I have just had a letter from the St. Mary ladies, etc.² I thought they were both dead; but I find they sometimes drink your claret still, and win your money. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

You know who.

I had sealed my letter, but have broke it open, to tell you, and all that love the Church and Crown, that all things are now well. The Queen has turned out the Duke of Somerset, and has created twelve new Lords, of which three are Peers' eldest sons, the rest new created; so that a majority is past dispute. We are all in the greatest joy imaginable to find her Majesty declare herself so seasonably.

of his famous verses, known as "The Windsor Prophecy," on that lady, who, as Sir Henry Craik says ("Life," i, 287), had "a character and a history that made its strokes come home with deadly force."

¹ *Supra*, p. 91.

² To the St. Mary's ladies (*supra*, p. 71, n. 2), Swift says: "I have owned to the Dean a letter I just had from you, but that I had not one this great while before" ("Prose Works," ii, 307).

CXXXV. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *January 8, 1711-12.*

MY LORD,

I CANNOT in conscience take up your Grace's time with an empty letter; and it is not every day one can furnish what will be worth your reading. I had all your Grace's packets;¹ and I humbly thank your Grace for your good instructions to me, which I shall observe as soon as ever it shall please God to put me into a way of life where I can have leisure for such speculations.

In above twenty years that I have known something of Courts and Ministers, I never saw so strange and odd a complicated disposition of affairs as what we have had for six weeks past. The facts your Grace may have met with in every common newspaper; but the springs of them are hardly discoverable even by those who had most opportunity of observing. Neither do I find those who should know best, agree upon the matter. There is a perpetual trial of skill between those who are out and those who are in; and the former are generally more industrious at watching opportunities. Last September, at Windsor, the Duke of Somerset, who had not been at cabinet council for many months, was advised by his friends of the late Ministry to appear there, but the rest refused to sit with him; and the council was put off until next day, when the Duke went to a horse-race.² This was declaring open war; and ever since both he and his Duchess, who is in great favour, have been using all sorts of means to break the

¹ The reference is to the Archbishop's letters of 27 and 31 October and 1 November, and the prints about Higgins (*supra*, p. 297). On the eve of the publication of the "Conduct of the Allies," Irish affairs had seemed more than ever trivial to Swift, who wrote to Stella, "I have read all the trash, and am weary," and his temper was not improved by the omission of the Archbishop's secretary to enclose the letters to Erasmus Lewis (*supra*, p. 275)—an oversight that entailed the payment by Swift of four shillings in postage ("Prose Works," ii, 278).

² Swift had forgotten his letter of 26 August to the Archbishop (*supra*, p. 278), and makes a mistake as to the month in which the occurrence took place.

present Ministry. Mrs. Masham was absent two months from Windsor, with lying-in at Kensington, and my Lord Treasurer six weeks by indisposition. Some time before the session, the Duke above-mentioned went to all those Lords, who, by the narrowness of their fortunes, have depended on the Court, and engaged them to vote against the Ministry, by assuring them it was the Queen's pleasure. He is said to have added other powerful motives. Bothmar's Memorial was published just at that juncture,¹ as Hoffman the Emperor's Resident had some time before printed the French King's propositions.² It is confidently affirmed, by those who should know, that money was plentifully scattered. By these and some other accidents, the vote was carried against the Ministry; and everybody of either party understood the thing as intended directly against my Lord Treasurer's head. The House of Lords made a very short adjournment, and were preparing some resolutions and addresses of the most dangerous importance. We had a very melancholy Christmas, and the most fearless persons were shaken: for our great danger lay where I cannot tell your Grace at this distance. The thing wished for was, the removal of the Somerset family; but that could not be done, nor yet is.³ After some time, the Queen declared herself as you have heard, and twelve new Lords were created.

My Lord Nottingham's game in this affair has been most talked off, and several hard things said of him are affirmed to be true.⁴ The Dissenting ministers in this town

¹ This memorial set forth "the gloomy prognostications" of the Elector of Hanover, whom Bothmar represented at the Court of Queen Anne, as to the future of Europe if England should allow herself "to be decoyed into an insecure peace" (Wyon, *op. cit.*, ii, 323; "Prose Works," x, 42).

² It would appear that Swift has confused "that puppy Hoffman" with his predecessor Count Gallas, who had been instrumental in obtaining the publication of the terms of "Mat Prior's peace" (Wyon, *op. cit.*, ii, 317).

³ The less important member of the family, the Duke of Somerset, was removed from his office of Master of the Horse a few days later, but the Duchess retained her office of Mistress of the Robes and remained a thorn in the side of the Government and an obstacle in the way of Swift's preferment.

⁴ Nottingham's desertion of the Tory party is thought by Mr. Leadam ("Political Hist. of England," ix, 190) to have been due to fears for the Protestant succession as well as to resentment at his exclusion from the Ministry.

were consulted about the Occasional Bill, and agreed to it, for what reasons I cannot learn; that which is offered not satisfying me, that they were afraid of worse.¹ I believe they expected an entire change of Ministry and measures, and a new Parliament, by which it might be repealed, and have instead some law to their advantage. The Duke of Marlborough's removal has passed very silently: the particular reasons for it I must tell your Grace some other time:² but how it will pass abroad I cannot answer. People on both sides conclude from it, that the peace is certain; but the conclusion is ill drawn: the thing would have been done, although we had been sure of continuing the war. We are terribly afraid of Prince Eugene's coming, and therefore it was put off until the resolutions were taken. Before he came out of his yacht, he asked how many Lords were made. He was a quarter of an hour with the Queen, on Sunday about seven at night.³ The great men resolve to entertain him in their turns; and we suppose it will all end in a journey of pleasure. We are so confidently told of the Duke of Somerset's being out, that I writ so to the Dean of St. Patrick's. A man of quality told me he had it from my Lord Keeper, whom I asked next day, and found it a mistake; but it is impossible to fence against all lies; however, it is still expected that the Duke will be out, and that many other removes will be made.

Lord Ranelagh died on Sunday morning: he was very poor and needy, and could hardly support himself for want of a pension, which used to be paid him, and which his friends solicited as a thing of perfect charity. He died

¹ *Supra*, p. 310.

² On 31 December Marlborough had been dismissed from all his employments by Queen Anne in so offensive a letter that despite his dispassionate disposition Marlborough threw it into the fire. In writing to Stella, Swift says, "The Queen and Lord Treasurer mortally hate the Duke and to that he owes his fall. . . . I do not love to see personal resentment mix with public affairs" ("Prose Works," ii, 310).

³ Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was sent by the Emperor to the English Court to prevent a peace on the terms proposed, had originally intended to come to England early in December. In the opinion of Lord Stanhope (*op. cit.*, p. 510) the Prince's arrival at that time might have produced a strong effect, but before he landed the crisis was over, Marlborough, whom he desired to befriend, had been discarded, and the majority in the House of Lords on which he reckoned had been overwhelmed.

hard, as the term of art is here, to express the woeful state of men who discover no religion at their death.¹ The town talk is that the Duke of Ormond will go no more to Ireland, but be succeeded by the Duke of Shrewsbury, who is a very great and excellent person; and I will hold a wager that your Grace will be an admirer of his Duchess: if they go, I will certainly order her to make all advances to you; but this is only a general report, of which they know nothing at Court, although I think it not altogether improbable.² We have yet heard nothing of my Lord Privy Seal.³ Buys, the Dutch Envoy, went to Holland, I think, at the same time. Buys is a great pretender to politics, and always leaves the company with great expressions of satisfaction that he has convinced them all; he took much pains to persuade me out of some opinions, and, although all he said did but fix me deeper, he told the Ministry how successful he had been.⁴ I have got poor Dr. King, who was some

¹ The death of Charles II's old favourite, who was descended from one of the Archbishop's predecessors in the see of Dublin, probably attracted more attention in Ireland than in England, where his influence was a thing of the past.

² Ormond had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in room of Marlborough, while still holding the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It was thought this was only a temporary arrangement, but as the Viceroy's presence in Ireland that summer was not needed, owing to there being no meeting of the Irish Parliament, Ormond was allowed to hold both offices until the following year. Swift had become intimate with the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury during his visits to Windsor, where the Duke as Lord Chamberlain was in attendance on the Queen. To the Duchess, a daughter of the Marquis of Paleotti, the use in connection with Swift of the Italian form of his name—Presto—is attributable.

³ The Right Rev. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol (*supra*, p. 187), whose appointment as Lord Privy Seal Swift had expected would fret the Whigs to death, had set out on Christmas Eve for Utrecht where with the Earl of Strafford he represented England as a plenipotentiary for peace.

⁴ Buys, who had been sent to England after the announcement of "Mat Prior's peace," and who had been active in concerting opposition to it with the Whig leaders, was the principal representative of Holland at the Utrecht Congress. Swift had met Buys, whose politics and manners he thought "much of a size," at a dinner given by the Mashams, and relates how Buys and his son insisted on offering whatever was put on their plates to the rest of the company, until their plates happened to meet with such force that "they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweetmeats and cream" ("Prose Works," ii, 301; xi, 81).

time in Ireland, to be Gazetteer, which will be worth two hundred and fifty pounds per annum to him, if he be diligent and sober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, because I think he was under your Grace's protection when he was in Ireland.¹

By what I gather from Mr. Southwell, I believe your Grace stands very well with the Duke of Ormond; and it is one great addition to my esteem for Mr. Southwell, that he is entirely your Grace's friend and humble servant, delighting to do you justice upon all occasions.² I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant.

CXXXVI. [*Original*.³]

THE REV. HENRY SACHEVERELL TO SWIFT

Southwark, *January 31, 1711-12.*

REVEREND SIR,⁴

SINCE you have been pleased to undertake the generous office of soliciting my good Lord Treasurer's favour in my

¹ The Archbishop's namesake, Dr. William King, the civilian, whose celebrity for self-indulgence is certainly not less than his reputation for wit, presided in the early part of Queen Anne's reign over the Court of Admiralty in Ireland where he held also the office of Vicar-General to the Primate, and through his verses on Mully of Mountown, "a cow sprung from a beauteous race," is identified with a well-known residential district on Dublin Bay called Monkstown within which lies the far-famed Mountown, then the country residence of one of the Irish judges. But Swift's acquaintance with Dr. King was probably due to his employment as editor of the "Examiner" before Swift undertook that office.

² Notwithstanding these fair words the Journal to Stella discloses at that time a change in the relations between Swift and the Archbishop, whose independent action in the Irish Parliament and Convocation had brought upon him the ill-will of the friends of the Government ("Prose Works," ii, 307, 313). From several quarters ("Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland," Hist. MSS. Com., v, 20, 113) denunciations of the Archbishop had reached Oxford, and it is possible that Swift found the Archbishop's name was no longer well received by his friend.

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ Swift and Sacheverell had met for the first time nine days before this letter was written, but Swift had long been uneasy about the inattention which the Ministry showed to the claims of one who in his opinion had been instrumental in bringing them into power. As Swift

behalf, I should be very ungrateful if I did not return you my most hearty thanks for it, and my humblest acknowledgments to his Lordship for the success it has met with.

I received, last Monday, a message by my pupil, Mr. Lloyd, representative of Shropshire,¹ from Mr. Harley, by his Lordship's order, to inquire what my brother was qualified for. I told him, having failed in his trade, he had been out of business for some years, during which time I had entirely maintained him and his family; that his education had not qualified him for any considerable or nice post: but that, if his Lordship thought him an object of his favour, I entirely submitted him to his disposal, and should be very thankful to his goodness to ease me of part of that heavy burden of my family, that required more than my poor circumstances could allow of.

I am informed also, that I am very much indebted to my great countryman, Mr. Secretary St. John, for his generous recommendation of this matter to his Lordship. I should be proud of an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to that eminent patriot, for whom no one, that wishes the welfare or honour of his Church or country, can have too great a veneration.

But for yourself, good Doctor, who was the first spring to move it, I can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligation. I should be glad, if you will command me, in any time or place to do it, which will be a farther favour conferred on, Reverend Sir,

Your most faithful servant,

H. SACHEVERELL.

I am told there is a place in the custom-house void called the searcher's; which, if proper to ask, I would presume; but rather leave it to his Lordship's disposal.²

wrote to Stella, Sacheverell hated the Ministry and they hated and pretended to despise him, a position in which Swift foresaw danger to his friends, and he had lately exerted himself to obtain a small employment for Sacheverell's brother ("Prose Works," ii, 229, 323).

¹ Robert Lloyd of Aston in Shropshire, who had presented Sacheverell during the progress of his trial to the rectory of Selattyn in that county.

² The application was successful, and a few weeks later Sacheverell came to thank Swift. Although Swift had vowed that Sacheverell should be "none of his acquaintance" they dined together and Sacheverell displayed a miraculous judgement "in things of wit or sense" ("Prose Works," ii, 356).

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CXXXVII. [*Copy*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February* 16, 1711-2.

REVEREND SIR,

YOURS of the 8th of January has lain by me some time for want of something to answer, not that our country is altogether barren of news, but the accidents here are of so little consequence to you there, that it can hardly be pertinent to write them; what [is] of moment is in the public newspapers.

I doubt not, but you hear of vile practice of houghing and destroying cattle, that is spread in several counties: several thousand sheep and bullocks have been thus destroyed. It began in Connaught, and has spread into Clare, Fermanagh and several other counties. The pretence is this; lands of late have been raised mightily in their rates, and the poor people not being able to pay when demanded are turned out of their farms, and one man stocks as many as ten, twenty, or perhaps a hundred inhabited. These poor people are turned to stock-slaying or starve, for the land will yield a great deal more when there is found only a shepherd or cowherd to pay out of it, than it can yield when some inhabitants are first to be fed out of it. This turning the poor people to grazing has made them desperate, and they everywhere endeavour to destroy whole stocks of cattle, that they may get land to plough at the former rate. That is the pretence, and [to] show that this is no quarrel between Protestants and Papists, they destroy the Papists' flocks and herds generally first, but it is much suspected that there is a deeper design hid under this [practice] and both Whigs and Papists seem to suggest that the Pretender is at the bottom. We have published several proclamations to discover and seize houghers but wholly up to [now] without success.²

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² This outbreak of crime has received considerable notice from Mr. Lecky (*op. cit.*, ii, 351-356), who says that "the movement was organised with the skill and conducted with the resolution and the energy of a regular insurrection." Its origin, he thinks, must always

We wait impatiently for some account from Utrecht, if my Lord Treasurer carry his point, he has surely done the greatest thing that ever statesman did in England, for he has against [him] all the allies, the moneyed men in England, the army and the fleet, and the majority of the old Lords; and everybody saw the pinch he was at when the new Lords were made; his choice must be approved by everybody, the estates and families well deserving honour; I hope he will never again be under the like necessity. Nobody seems to say anything against her Majesty laying aside the Duke of Marlborough, that being her prerogative, but if an impeachment had followed I know not how it would have been, I believe it is wisdom to stop where things are as to him—*magni nomen abrupat*.

None here must talk of any change of our chief governor: if that should happen at any time, none would [be more] grateful to the kingdom than the person you name. I in particular have a great veneration for him; and as to his lady, though you know I have but an awkward way of address to ladies, yet assure yourself I will if her Grace come here endeavour by all possible services to merit her esteem; my notion of her Grace is, that she is well able to distinguish between sincere respect and flattery; I can promise the first, though a stranger to the latter. But pray take you a care not to promise too much, for that will be a disadvantage as happens wherever expectation is raised, and for fear I should forfeit your recognisance as I am afraid poor Dr. King will.¹

The Pretender runs in the heads of most of the people of Ireland; the Papists seem to have great hopes and the Protestants generally great fears, and it is the business of some to persuade all that [he] is at the door, and perhaps the perseverance of these men's suggestions is the cause of

remain doubtful, but as no Jacobite rising ensued, he leans to the opinion that it had no political significance. Froude holds (*op. cit.*, i, 408-416) that the rising was directed against the English interest and creed, and asserts what the Archbishop's letter disproves, that Protestants were the only sufferers.

¹ The prediction of the Archbishop as to his namesake (*supra*, p. 313, n. 1) came true a few months later when Dr. King retired from the office of Gazetteer. It is said that his resignation was due to impatience at a temporary increase to his duties, but it was probably caused by the ill practices which helped to terminate his life, while he was still a comparatively young man, at the close of that year.

these expectations and fears that serves them to good purposes, but when the falseness of their surmises once appears all Ireland will be unanimous for the new Ministry, for they are well convinced that the other had ill designs.

I had the good fortune to suppress a great many in their clamours for a war, by telling them that if it were known in England that Ireland were for the war, they would certainly exact from them a tax towards it, and defied them to even [say] if this were not justice and how they could either refuse or make a proportionable contribution; and that if they would avoid this they must hold their [peace] which I think they chose to do; I recommend [you etc.]

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

Addressed—Under cover to Erasmus Lewis, Esq., at Lord Dartmouth's.

CXXXVIII. [*Copy*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Kilbrew,² *March 27, 1712.*

REVEREND SIR

I GIVE you the trouble of this on account of our government, which I understand from all hands is to be changed. I am sorry to find that it is the general opinion that no kindness is intended in the change to his Grace the Duke of Ormond.³ I suspected it would be so when the struggles happened herein the Parliament and was so open as to intimate my fears to his Grace himself, with the methods I thought

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² Kilbrew is a parish in the county of Meath about eighteen miles to the north-west of Dublin. General Richard Gorges, who figures in the epitaph on Dick and Dolly ("Poetical Works," i, 299), had a seat within its limits.

³ The rumour that Ormond was to be superseded in the government of Ireland (*supra*, p. 315, n. 2) had been revived by his appointment in the previous month as Captain-General of the Forces in Flanders. The Duke of Shrewsbury was at that time offered the viceroyalty, but would not accept it, although he did so a year later ("Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath," *Hist. MSS. Com.*, i, 218).

proper to prevent them, but other counsels prevailed, perhaps more to his Grace's advantage, but I am sure they would not be given with more sincere affection and zeal for his Grace's service. I heartily pray for his success in the great post in which he is placed.

My Lord Duke of Shrewsbury will come here with great advantage, the generality being possessed with a great opinion of his probity and capacity, and besides they have reckoned his Grace to be a friend to this country. For my own part I do not see how it can be in the power of any chief governor to do us any great good, but any one may do us a great deal of mischief, and if [we] have such a one as will have so much affection for those he governs that he will do us no more hurt than he must,—that he will not out of malice or ignorance wilfully injure us,—we ought and must be thankful to God for him.

I suppose in his Grace's time there may [be] occasion for a new Parliament, for I believe he will hardly take up with the present after such declared feuds between the two Houses, not but I believe he might with prudent management have influence enough to oblige them to do all the service his Grace might have occasion for, but because I do not think it worth the pains that must be taken in it; and as it would not be pleasing to the kingdom, so it would not be so serviceable to his Grace, for their acquiescence in his Grace's designs would be looked on as a great merit, and if not answered by some definite return on his Grace's part it would disgust against [him] many, whereas the calling of a new Parliament will be reckoned as a favour from his Grace and oblige the new members to make suitable returns to their creator. I do not see anything that anyways embarrass[es] his Grace's government, except it be the jurisdiction of the House of Lords. I understand that a cause judged by them last sessions is carried before the Lords in Great Britain, this may breed disgusts, and therefore I think it were advisable that his Grace should be apprised of it.¹ If it may be prevented it will turn much to the ease of his Grace's government, and entirely gain him

¹ This question was the one which gave rise seven years later to the well-known constitutional conflict between the two Parliaments, and led to an enactment by the English Parliament denying all power of appellate jurisdiction to the Irish House of Lords.

the House of Lords here and [he may] announce himself welcome with all.

I was in hopes to have [wished] you joy of a good preferment in England and heartily wish it, and pray be not wanting to yourself at [making] every venture, perhaps you may not in time have one so serviceable. I recommend you, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

CXXXIX. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *March 29, 1712.*

MY LORD,

I CANNOT ask pardon for not sooner acknowledging your Grace's letter,¹ because that would look as if I thought mine were of consequence. Either I grow weary of politics, or am out of the way of them, or there is less stirring than usual;² and indeed we are all in suspense at present; but I am told that in ten or twelve days time, we shall know what the issue will be at Utrecht. I can only tell your Grace, that there are some unlucky circumstances, not proper to be trusted to a letter, which have hitherto retarded this great work;³ *mihi ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur*. Meantime we are with great difficulty raising funds upon which to borrow five millions. One of those funds is a tax upon paper, and I think thirty per cent. upon imported books; and of such a nature as I could not yesterday forbear saying to my Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor

¹ *Supra*, p. 318.

² Swift is scarcely ingenuous in suggesting these reasons for his silence; since his last letter to the Archbishop he had published his "Advice to the October Club" and "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty" as well as assisted in drafting the "Representation of the State of the Nation" in which "all the wrong steps of the Allies and late Ministry about the War" were set forth ("Prose Works," v, 127, 209; x, 101).

³ The unlucky circumstances seem to have been reports that the Queen's life was in danger and that there would soon be "some turn in England" which were alleged to have been sent by the Whigs to Holland and to have caused the Dutch plenipotentiaries to obstruct the business at the Utrecht congress ("Prose Works," x, 142).

of the Exchequer, that instead of preventing small papers and libels, it will leave nothing else for the press.¹ I have not talked to the Duke of Argyll upon the affairs of Spain, since his return;² but am told he affirms it impossible for us to carry on the war there by our former methods. The Duke of Ormond is expected to go in two or three days for Flanders.³ And what I writ to your Grace some months ago of the Duke of Shrewsbury succeeding to govern Ireland, will, I suppose, be soon declared. I was the other day to see the Duchess, and reported your Grace's compliments, which she took very well; and I told her I was resolved your Grace and she should be very good acquaintance. I believe the spirit of your houghers has got into our Mohocks, who are still very troublesome, and every night cut somebody or other over the face; and commit a hundred insolent barbarities.⁴ There was never the least design of any impeachment against the Duke of Marlborough; and it was his own great weakness, or the folly of his friends, that the thing went so far as it did.⁵

I know not whether it is that people have talked themselves hoarse, but for some weeks past we have heard less of the Pretender than formerly.⁶ I suppose it is, like a fashion, got into Ireland, when it is out here: but, in my

¹ It would appear from this reference that Oxford and Robert Benson, who had succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, were the persons mainly responsible for the iniquitous tax then imposed on newspapers and pamphlets. Benson, who was created soon afterwards Lord Bingley, accumulated great wealth notwithstanding a sumptuous style of living and the gratification of a taste for architectural achievements.

² *Supra*, p. 248.

³ *Supra*, p. 320, n. 3.

⁴ From the references to them in the Journal to Stella it is evident that Swift believed the Mohocks to have been organised by the Whigs, and although Mr. Leadam (*op. cit.*, p. 194) thinks otherwise, the insinuation in "The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," that Prince Eugene suggested their encouragement as a means of accomplishing the removal of Oxford was quite consonant with Swift's opinions at the time.

⁵ In the debate on the charges against Marlborough of peculation, it was, according to Swift, St. John's intention that Marlborough should be censured "as gently as possible," provided his friends did "not make head to defend him" ("Prose Works," ii, 323).

⁶ A pamphlet, "Hannibal at our Gates," which had been published shortly before that time, and which asserted that the Ministers were in league with the Pretender, had given fuel for a great outcry (Crail's "Life," i, 317).

conscience, I do not think any one person in the Court or Ministry here designs any more to bring in the Pretender, than the great Turk. I hope Mr. Harley, who is now on his journey to Hanover, will give that Court a truer opinion of persons and things than they have hitherto conceived;¹ and, if your Grace knew the instrument, through which these false opinions have been infused, you would allow it another instance of the *ludibrium rerum mortalium*;² and your Grace cannot but agree, that it is something singular for the Prince in possession to make perpetual advances, and the presumptive heir to be standing off and suspicious.

I know not whether your Grace has considered the position that my Lord Treasurer is visibly in. The late Ministry, and their adherents, confess themselves fully resolved to have his head, whenever it is in their power; and were prepared, upon the beginning of the sessions, when the vote was carried against any peace without Spain, to move that he should be sent to the Tower: at the same time, his friends, and the Tories in general, are discontented at his slowness in the changing of commissions and employments, to which the weakness of the Court interest in the House of Lords is wholly imputed: neither do I find that those in the greatest stations, or most in the confidence of my Lord Treasurer, are able to account for this proceeding, or seem satisfied with it. I have endeavoured to solve this difficulty another way; and I fancy I am in the right, from words I have heard let fall:³ but, whatever be the cause, the consequences may be dangerous.

The Queen is in very good health, but does not use so much exercise as she ought. Pray God preserve her many years! A projector has lately applied to me to recommend him to the Ministry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He has given in a petition to the Queen by

¹ Swift only mentions part of the mission on which Oxford's cousin, Thomas Harley, was sent to the Continent at that time; its first object was to convey fresh instructions to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

² In a note appended to this sentence in Scott's edition (xv, 517) it is implied that the allusion is to a *valet-de-chambre* of the Elector of Hanover who was said to have prejudiced his master against Oxford's Ministry.

³ *Supra*, p. 265, n. 1.

Mr. Secretary St. John. I understand nothing of the mathematics; but I am told it is a thing as improbable as the philosopher's stone, or perpetual motion.¹ I lately writ a letter of about thirty pages to Lord Treasurer, by way of proposal for an Academy, to correct, enlarge, and ascertain the English language.² And he and I have named above twenty persons of both parties to be members. I will shortly print the letter, and I hope something will come of it. Your Grace sees I am a projector too. I am, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

CXL. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *May 20, 1712.*

MY LORD,

WHEN I had the honour of your Grace's letter of March 27th, I was lying ill of a cruel disorder, which still pursues me, although not with so much violence;³ and I hope your Grace will pardon me, if you find my letter to be that of one who writes in pain. You see, my Lord, how things are altered. The talk of a new governor for Ireland is dropped. The secret is, that the Duke of Ormond had a promise of a pension in case he lost his government: but my Lord Treasurer is so excessively thrifty, that to save charges, he lets the Duke keep it; and besides, there are some other circumstances, not proper for a letter, which have great weight in this matter. I count upon it, that whatever governor goes over under this Ministry, a new Parliament will be called. Yet I was told that the Duke of Shrewsbury

¹ It has been suggested (Aitken's "Journal to Stella," p. 433) that the projector was William Whiston, who was deprived of the Lucasian professorship at Cambridge for heterodox views.

² The letter which had been so long in contemplation (*supra*, p. 268), had been written during the previous month; the six hours which are said in the Journal to Stella to have been spent on it, probably represent only a fraction of the time expended on its composition.

³ The attack of *herpes zoster* or shingles, which Swift describes with loathsome detail in the Journal to Stella.

was pitched on, as a sort of medium between, etc.¹ He is a person of admirable qualities: and if he were somewhat more active, and less timorous in business, no man would be thought comparable to him.

The moderate of the other party seem now content to have a peace, and all our talk and expectations are full of it: but I protest to your Grace I know not what to write upon this subject, neither could I tell what to say if I had the honour to be with you. Upon Lord Strafford's coming over, the stocks are fallen, although I expected, and I thought with reason, that they would rise.² There is a trade between some here and some in Holland, of secrets and lies: and there are some among us whose posts let them into an imperfect knowledge of things, which they cannot conceal. This mixture makes up the town-talk, governs the price of stocks, and has often a great deal of truth in it: besides, public affairs have often so many sudden turns and incidents, that even those behind the curtain can hardly pronounce for a week. I am sensible that I have often deceived your Grace with my wise innuendoes. Yet, I verily think that my intelligence was very right at the moment I sent it. If I had writ to your Grace six days ago, I would have ventured to have given you hopes that a peace would soon appear, and upon conditions wholly surprising and unexpected. I say this to you wholly in confidence; and I know nothing yet to change my opinion, except the desponding talk of the town, for I see nothing yet in the contrivances of the Ministers.

It seems generally agreed that the present Dauphin³ cannot live, and upon that depend many measures to be taken. This afternoon the Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire into the Grants, etc. was thrown out of the House of Lords, the voices being equal, which is a great disappointment to the Court, and matter of triumph to the other party.⁴ But it may possibly be of the worst con-

¹ Scott supplies ("Works," xv, 519) the words Whig and Tory.

² It was during his temporary absence from Utrecht at that time that the Earl of Strafford by an attack on Marlborough gave occasion for Lord Cowper's remark that he had been abroad so long that he appeared to have forgotten not only the language, but even the constitution of his native country.

³ The future Louis XV.

⁴ The inquiry under this Bill, which is said to have had for its

sequence to the grants next session, when it is probable the Ministry will be better settled, and able to procure a majority. I am, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

CXLI. [*Copy.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Carlow, *May* 29, 1712.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 20th instant since I left Dublin on my triennial visitation.² I made it more early by two months than it used to occur. I had, God be thanked, a very good state of health all last winter and spring, and having missed any fit of the gout at the usual time, apprehended it might seize me in July as sometimes it doth in that month wherein I used to visit, and therefore I was resolved to prevent it if possible, lest it should prevent me. I likewise have visited parochially such churches in my own diocese as lay near my road and confi[rmed in many] of them. I go on from hence to Kilkenny and visit there to June, God willing, and shall return through the county of Wicklow, which is in my own diocese of Dublin. I find both churches and congregations much [mended] since my last visitation which is a very great comfort to me. . . . Things seem very quiet here and all persons desirous of [peace which] surely will be a common good, though [my] opinion has always been that Ireland will lose by it, in which I now find that I am not singular.

I always imagined the terms of peace to be a matter of great difficulty, though all parties should heartily desire and endeavour it, and if it were left to our own choice to settle the terms, it would require, as seems to me, a consummate wisdom to find out what would be expedient. It

object "the impoverishment and humiliation of the great Whig families," was limited to grants made by William III.

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² There has been previous reference (*supra*, p. 36, n. 2) to the custom in Ireland of the Archbishops visiting triennially the dioceses of their suffragans. Carlow is in the diocese of Leighlin, which is included in the province of Dublin and is now united to the diocese of Ossory.

seems to me that by the rot in the Bourbon family,¹ the case is much altered since the negotiations were set on foot, and that the conditions of peace must be much another thing than they ought to have been then, and I should not wonder if so extraordinary a change should puzzle the wisest Ministry; but I am much surprised to hear that Philip should stick at renouncing his pretensions to France, that not suiting with the methods formerly used by that family. The only thing that can stick with him seems to me the fear [that] his brother Berry² should keep him to his word and take the advantage of his renunciation to step into the throne of France and exclude him; but he may set his heart at rest as to that, the French are so intent on their interest and glory, that if only one life stood between the union of the two crowns, they would soon find means to remove it out of the way. It is a maxim in France that the hereditary right is indefeasible, and who ever endeavoured to put it by would be looked on as a usurper and by other maxims might be removed any way, especially when his removal would be so fair a step to the universal monarchy.

As to the conditions of peace I never heard of any yet, that had any, [so] to look, testimony of their being genuine, and perhaps no negotiations were ever managed with so much secrecy as this, which has made [people] not well affected say that this peace is like that of God and passes all understanding. As to the government of Ireland, considering all things it had surely been in effect to destroy the Duke of Ormond to remove him, and some did not fail to suggest that he was only made Captain-General to get him out of Court on that consideration. I think it was not amiss to continue both as they were till other circumstances offer. I laid a wager last November that the peace would not be proclaimed before August; [it] was only a treat, and I am afraid I shall win it.

¹ The death of the only son of Louis XIV in the previous year has been noticed (*supra*, p. 248) and it was followed in February of this year by the deaths of that monarch's eldest grandson and eldest great-grandson, leaving between the succession of Louis XIV's second grandson, Philip V of Spain, to the French throne, only the life of a sickly infant, who, however, survived and became Louis XV.

² Charles, Duc de Berry, who was the third grandson of Louis XIV and died in 1714.

As to your Bill of Inquiries about Grants, I wonder how it passed so far considering that the legislators were generally the men that were to suffer by it, and besides courtiers expect the like hereafter, and to resume the past is to cramp the hands of the Crown for the future, and make the gifts less valuable and the donors more cautious, and therefore the bringing the matter so near to bear satisfies me that those are mistaken in their count that reckon my Lord Treasurer to stand much alone—that he neither has nor desires assistance, which I assure you is the great foundation of some men's expectations that he cannot stand long; and I hope this will somewhat mortify them and stop their cant of woe to him that is alone.

I heard you were ill, and am heartily concerned for it, I can only give you the assistance of my prayers, which I assure you I do with constancy. I have several other matters to write about relating to your project of an academy for language and other affairs, but I have not time having only stole this moment to signify to you that I am etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

CXLII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

Kensington, [*June 26, 1712.*]

MY LORD,

I HAVE two or three times begun letters to your Grace, and have torn what I writ, hoping I might send you something decisive about the peace. But all still continues to lie very loose, and I continue to be very desponding, although the people in affairs laugh at me for it. I have one plain maxim in dealing with those, who have more cunning, and less honesty than myself, which is, what we call keeping the staff in my own hand, and contriving that they shall

¹ This letter is dated in previous editions September 30, but from the contents it is evident that it cannot have been written so late in the year, and a subsequent letter from Archbishop King fixes its date with certainty (*infra*, p. 333). As Swift explains in this letter he had gone to Kensington for his health early in June.

trust me rather than I them. A man may reason until he is weary upon this proceeding of the Dutch. The soldiers tell me that the Duke of Ormond could not possibly take possession of Dunkirk, since the foreign troops have refused to march, and that the States will not suffer us to go through their towns.¹ But I had a whisper from one who should know best, that Dunkirk might now have been ours, if right methods had been taken. And another great man said to a friend of mine, about a fortnight ago, that the least wrong step on that side the water might have very ill consequences at this juncture. Meantime, the discontented party seems full of hopes, and many of the Court-side, beside myself, desponding enough. The necessity of laying the proposals before the Parliament drew us into all this; for now we are in a manner pinned down, and cannot go back an inch with any good grace; so that if the French play us foul, I dread the effects, which are too visible to doubt. And on the other side, if the peace goes smoothly on, I cannot but think that some severe inquiries will be made; and I believe, upon very manifest grounds. If there be any secret in this matter of Dunkirk, it must be in very few hands; and those who most converse with men at the helm, are, I am confident, very much in the dark. Some people go so far as to think that the Dutch will hinder even the English forces under the Duke of Ormond from going by the French country to Dunkirk; but I cannot be of that opinion. We suppose a few days will decide this matter; and I believe your Grace will agree, that there was never a more nice conjuncture of affairs; however, the Court appears to be very resolute: several changes have been made, and more are daily expected. The Dutch are grown so unpopular, that, I believe, the Queen might have addresses to stand by her against them with lives and fortunes.

I had your Grace's letter of May 29th, written in the time of your visiting; from which, I hope, you are returned with health and satisfaction. The difficulties in the peace, by the accidents in the Bourbon family, are, as your Grace observes, very great, and what indeed our Ministers chiefly

¹ Of the circumstances attending the surrender of Dunkirk, which was given up on 19 July to General Hill, full information will be found in "The Four Last Years of the Queen" ("Prose Works," x, *passim*).

apprehended. But we think Philip's renouncing to be an effectual expedient; not out of any regard he would have for it, but because it will be the interest of every Prince of the blood in France to keep him out, and because the Spaniards will never assist him to unite the two kingdoms. I am in hopes yet that your Grace may pay your treat, for it is yet four weeks to [August¹]: at least I believe we shall be happy, or ruined, before that time. It is certain that there is something in what people say: but the Court is so luckily constituted at present, that every man thinks the chief trust cannot be anywhere else so well placed; neither do I know above one man that would take it, and it is a great deal too soon for him to have such thoughts.²

I humbly thank your Grace for your concern about my health: I have still the remainder of some pains, which has partly occasioned my removing hither about three weeks ago. I was recommended to country air, and chose this, because I could pass my time more agreeably near my friends at Court. We think the Queen will go to Windsor in three weeks; and, I believe, I shall be there most of the time I stay in England, which I intend until toward the end of summer.

My Lord Treasurer has often promised he will advance my design of an academy; so have my Lord Keeper, and all the Ministers; but they are now too busy to think of anything beside what they have upon the anvil. My Lord Treasurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties; but perhaps it may all come to nothing.

If things continue as they are another session, perhaps your Grace may see the Bill of Resuming the Grants carried on with a great deal more rigour than it lately was. It was only desired that the grantees should pay six years purchase, and settle the remainder on them by Act of Parliament, and those grants are now worse than other lands by more years purchase than six; so that, in effect,

¹ Either through a slip on the part of Swift or too much zeal on the part of an editor, November is given here in previous editions, but the Archbishop's wager was that peace could not be proclaimed before August (*supra*, p. 328).

² In Scott's opinion ("Works," xvi, 5) the reference is to Bolingbroke.

they would have lost nothing. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

CXLIII. [*Copy*.¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *July* 23, 1712.

REVEREND SIR,

THE bearer Mr. Foley is a very hopeful young man, and being well related to persons in power at Court, it is in hopes of advancing himself by their interest [that he goes to London].² I know no fault he has except his youth, which will mend every day; he was under my guardianship till he came to age, and since he has found his interest to consult me in the management of himself. I had a prospect of preferring him, but it failed me, and that has put him on going to London to try another way. He will need advice and direction and somebody to have an eye over him. I have ventured to recommend him to you, as to one that knows perfectly well how to counsel him, and that has goodness to assist a young man in so critical a time. He may give you a tolerable account of matters here, and perhaps the better because it is to be presumed that he has not yet the art of dissembling his thoughts.

I came from my visitation a month ago,³ but immediately after got the gout in my right hand,⁴ which has been very inconvenient to me, particularly in disabling me from

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² Mr. Foley was a son of the Bishop who held the sees of Down and Connor when Swift was instituted to Kilroot, and whose premature death has been noticed (*supra*, p. 25, n. 1). Archbishop King was one of the executors of Bishop Foley's will, which was executed a month before his death, "being, I bless God, at present in good health, but designing with his permission to make a journey into the county of Down next week"; and the Archbishop had been unceasing in his efforts to help his friend's family. The Bishop was a cousin of Baxter's friend, the great iron manufacturer, whose son, as a devoted follower of Harley, was one of the twelve peers created at the close of the previous year.

³ *Supra*, p. 327.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 51, n. 3.

writing, which I do with great pain and uneasiness or you had heard sooner from Reverend Sir, yours etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

CXLIV. [*Copy.*¹]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, 29 *July*, 1712.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of 26th June soon after my return from my triennial; and you had received an answer to it with my acknowledgments long ago, but on my coming home I was seized with the gout in my right hand in so severe a manner, that I with difficulty yet hold my pen; I did not think fit to use another hand in my letters to you, for as I communicate what you write to no mortal, so I did not care to make any privy to my answers, though they contain no secrets.²

I never was in any fear but the French would give us up Dunkirk, and I laughed at those that pretended to believe the contrary, but perhaps you will not like my reason, which to deal ingenuously with you was this, that I reckoned the securing Spain to the House of Bourbon was of such moment that the King of France had been inexcusable if he had stuck at ten Dunkirks to obtain it, not to say anything of the prospect of uniting the two crowns if the Dauphin die, whom I have already condemned. If things be once prepared for it, I cannot believe that you imagine that the two obstacles you mention can hinder it. Pray how is it the interest of the Princes of the blood to keep out Philip? Sure if they and every man in France have not lost their senses, they must see that it is every individual's interest to make him their King, rather than the Duke of Berry, who can give them nothing but what they have,

¹ In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

² Notwithstanding his sufferings the Archbishop not only sent an autograph letter to Swift, but made the copy with his own hand. That he should have kept at so much inconvenience to himself a copy of a letter dealing with high politics shows no small confidence on the part of the Archbishop in his powers as a statesman.

when the other will put the riches of the world in their hands, and can and will make them governors in all lands. Would it not be a pretty advantage for France and Frenchmen to be masters of all the gold and silver of the world, and for a poor Prince of the blood to be vice-regent of Mexico? Assure yourself they will break through every obstacle which may be cross to such a prospect. As to the Spaniards not assisting him, even that may be accomplished as well as Portocarero¹ will, but it is no matter whether they assist or no. I am sure they are not able to hinder it, and if the present King of France survive the peace but three years, he will be able to mould matters so that one may reckon on the thing as certain, if God do not in his providence prevent it, who often defeats the best laid schemes.

I am sure I would write this to none but yourself, and pray let it be only to yourself. I believe my wager is now secure,² for which I am heartily sorry. I durst venture on the same terms that we shall have no universal peace in Europe till this time next year, nor do I see any prospect of it so near, except some extraordinary unforeseen event procures it. And now Britain has made peace for itself, methinks it is not much our interest there should be one abroad. Let the confederates and France fight it out two or three years, in the meantime we shall gather strength and increase in men and money, both which we want at present, and then may be very good mediators, or force either party to a peace, which we cannot safely do at present. I admire what prospects they have that are so zealous to have a peace immediately. I have asked this question of several and they referred me to some reviews, but I could find no sense either in those or from the zealots, nor can I see how the continuance of the war by the parties abroad can hurt the Ministry.

I have under consideration the matter of an academy. I believe the close of a war is the more proper time to begin it, but I wish some other name were given it, for I find the generality so prejudiced against all French precedents that as parties are more formed I apprehend the name will be

¹ The Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, who had been instrumental in inducing King Charles II of Spain to designate King Philip as his successor.

² *Supra*, p. 331.

of great disadvantage. You will expect little assistance from Ireland in such a work; the best English writ or spoke here [is] patavineral,¹ and though we should in some things be in the right yet a provincial courtier would cram down always *mou't* instead of *might* as I observed when last in London.

I hope I may wish you joy of preferment [which] I hear her Majesty has bestowed on you;² but I reckon nothing sure till I understand your patent be past; none will congratulate you more heartily than

Your humble servant and brother

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Jonathan Swift.

CXLV. [Scott.]

SWIFT TO MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH

Friday, at Mr. Lewis's Office, [July 31, 1712].³

MISS HESSY is not to believe a word Mr. Lewis says in his letter. I would have writ to you sooner, if I had not been busy, and idle, and out of humour, and did not know how to send to you, without the help of Mr. Lewis, my mortal enemy. I am so weary of this place, that I am resolved to leave it in two days, and not return in three weeks. I will come as early on Monday as I can find opportunity, and will take a little Grub-street lodging, pretty

¹ *I.e.*, characteristic of Patavium, hence provincial in style.

² The deanery of Wells had been vacant since the preceding February, and it was regarded as so certain that Swift would be appointed to that dignity that the Lords Justices of Ireland nominated a successor to Laracor. The continual references to his supposed appointment caused him great annoyance, "since I hear not a word of it, though the town is full of it, and the Court always giving me joy and vexation," and he found difficulty in making Edward Southwell believe that he was not yet Dean of Wells, and that "when and whether he could not yet tell" ("Prose Works," ii, 358, 368, 380; Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland).

³ This letter was written from Windsor, whither the Queen had moved from Kensington on Wednesday, 22 July ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 292), and whither Erasmus Lewis (*supra*, p. 309, n. 1) had come in attendance on his chief, Lord Dartmouth. Swift seems to have preceded the Court by coming to Windsor from Kensington on Sunday, 19 July (Forster Collection, No. 508).

near where I did before, and dine with you thrice a-week, and will tell you a thousand secrets, provided you will have no quarrels to me.¹ Adieu!

Do not remember me to Moll,² but humble service to your mother.

Addressed.—To Messheshinage.

CXLVI. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN HILL

Windsor Castle,³ August 12, 1712.

SIR,⁴

WITH great difficulty I recovered your present of the finest box in France out of the hands of Mrs. Hill:⁵ she allowed her own to be the prettiest, but then mine was

¹ There had evidently been no decrease in the frequency of Swift's visits to the Vanhomrighs since the previous November (*supra*, p. 299), and it would appear that he had become almost an inmate of their house. It was not, however, the charms of the fair Vanessa, as might be imagined from this letter, that caused his return to London at that time, but business connected with the visit which St. John, or rather Viscount Bolingbroke as he became that month, then paid to Paris. It was on the day after this letter was written that Bolingbroke set out on his journey, the object of which was disguised under "the unlikely sham" of a visit to his wife ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 294).

² *Supra*, p. 306, n. 3.

³ Swift had returned to Windsor from London two days before.

⁴ Soon after joining the Tory party Swift had made the acquaintance of Lady Masham's brother, Jack Hill, and after Hill's return from the unfortunate expedition to Quebec (*supra*, p. 266, n. 4), had given proof of the strength and sincerity of his friendship by his exertions to re-instate Hill in the estimation of the public. Although not without doubt as to Hill's ability as a General, Swift lost no opportunity of emphasizing the fact that the failure of the expedition was due to storm and to treachery on the part of the colonists, and at the same time engineered the election of Hill as a member of "The Society," where his social qualities disarmed many who might have been his detractors. As a result, Hill had now been appointed as head of the force which was to occupy Dunkirk, and had taken possession of that town on 19 July ("Prose Works," *passim*).

⁵ Lady Masham's sister Alice, who was then a Woman of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne and who seems to have been one of Swift's most devoted admirers.

the handsomest; and in short, she would part with neither. I pleaded my brotherhood, and got my Lord and Lady Masham to intercede;¹ and at last she threw it me with a heavy sigh: but now it is in my possession, I wish you had sent a paper of directions how I shall keep it. You that sit at your ease, and have nothing to do but keep Dunkirk, never consider the difficulties you have brought upon me: twenty ladies have threatened to seize or surprise my box;² and what are twenty thousand French or Dutch in comparison of those? Mrs. Hill says, it was a very idle thing in you to send such a present to a man who can neither punish nor reward you, since Grub-street is no more; for the Parliament has killed all the Muses of Grub-street, who yet, in their last moments, cried out nothing but Dunkirk.³

My Lord Treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says, you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bottom of my box, as a reflection upon the clergy; and that I ought to resent it. But I am not angry at all, and

¹ Swift appears to have first met Lord Masham, who was an original member of "The Society" about the time he became acquainted with Hill. To Lady Masham he had only been introduced a year before this letter was written, but he had lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with "the Queen's favourite," and had been a constant visitor to her house while lodging at Kensington.

² This "fine snuff-box" is said to have been made of agate richly mounted in gold. To Stella Swift says that it was "allowed at Court that none in England comes near it, though it did not cost above twenty pounds," and tells how a belt with a pocket for his box was given to him by the Duchess of Hamilton ("Prose Works," ii, 384).

³ The stamp duty which killed Swift's favourite form of publication had come into force on 1 August. Amongst the last products of the Grub-street press were "five or six" Satires by Swift of which only three have been preserved, viz., "Toland's Invitation to Dismal," "Peace and Dunkirk," and "A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord" ("Prose Works," ii, 377, 379; v, 257; "Poetical Works," ii, 156, 157). There are said by Nichols ("Works," i, xlii) to have been four others, and the titles are given by him as follows: "Dunkirk still in the Hands of the French, being a plain and true Discovery of a most notorious Falsehood, invented by Jacobites and Tories, that the Town of Dunkirk was lately delivered to the English"; "A Hue and Cry after Dismal, being a full and true Account how a Whig Lord was taken at Dunkirk in the Habit of a Chimney-Sweeper and carried before General Hill"; "It's out at last or French Correspondence clear as the Sun"; and "A Dialogue upon Dunkirk between a Whig and a Tory on Sunday morning the 6th Instant"; but only to the first two of these is there any allusion in the Journal to Stella.

his Lordship observes by halves: for the goose is there drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the public, although it be hitherto in vain. And besides, Dr. Arbuthnot,¹ who is a scholar, says, you meant it as a compliment for us both: that I am the goose who saved the Capitol by my cackling; and that his Lordship is represented by the snail, because he preserves his country by delays. But my Lord Masham is not to be endured: he observed, that in the picture of the inside, which represents a great company dancing, there stands a fool with a cap and bells; and he would needs understand that figure as applied to me. And the worst of it was, that I happened last night to be at my Lady Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball:² where, looking a little singular among so many fine ladies and gentlemen, his Lordship came and whispered me to look at my box; which I resented so highly, that I went away in a rage without staying for supper.

However, considering of it better, after a night's sleep, I find all this is nothing but envy, and a design to make a quarrel between you and me: but it shall not do so; for I hope your intentions were good, however malice may misrepresent them. And though I am used ill by all the family, who win my money and laugh at me; yet, to vex them more, I will forgive them for your sake; and as soon as I can break loose, will come to Dunkirk for a fortnight, to get a little ease from my many persecutions, by the Harleys, the Mashams, and the Hills: only I intend to change my habit, for fear Colonel Killigrew should mistake me for a chimney-sweeper.³ In the meantime, I wish you all success in your government, loyal French subjects, virtuous

¹ Although this is the first reference to Arbuthnot in this Correspondence, Swift had been for some time on intimate terms with him.

² Writing to his brother the Earl of Strafford on the previous day Peter Wentworth says: "All the news we have here is that I am invited to a ball to-night at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's. . . . There are to be but seven couples; women, her Grace, five maids of honour, and Miss Touchet; men, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cardigan, Lord Masham, Lord Bathurst, Sir Robert Rich, Mr. Darcey, and myself" ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 296).

³ The reference is probably to Henry Killigrew, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dragoons. There is evidently an allusion to some passage in the "Hue and Cry after Dismal" (*supra*, p. 337, n. 3).

ladies, little champagne, and much health; and am, with the truest respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant and brother.

CXLVII. [*Scott.*]

SWIFT TO MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH

Windsor Castle, *August 15, 1712.*

I THOUGHT to have written to little Missessy by the Colonel,¹ but at last I did not approve of him as a messenger. Mr. Ford² began your health last night under the name of the Jilt, for which I desire you will reproach him. I do neither study nor exercise so much here as I do in town. The Colonel will intercept all the news I have to tell you, of my fine snuff-box, and my being at a ball, and my losing my money at ombre with the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury. I cannot imagine how you pass your time in our absence, unless by lying abed till twelve, and then having your followers about you till dinner. We have despatches to-day from Lord Bolingbroke;³ all is admirably

¹ It is to Vanessa's eldest brother, Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, that Swift alludes in this letter under the military titles of Colonel and Captain. The young man had been for a time at Christ Church, Oxford, but so far as is known was never in the army. From the references to him it would appear that he had accompanied Swift back to Windsor from London, and had stayed with him for a few days.

² A few weeks before, Swift had secured for his friend Charles Ford, on the retirement of Dr. King (*supra*, p. 319), the post of Gazetteer, "the prettiest employment in England of its bigness." It is evident from the Journal to Stella that Ford was no new friend, and that he was known to her as well as to Swift. As owner in the county of Meath of Wood Park, which lies on the road from Dublin to Trim, Ford's father, who had been an officer in the Irish Army and a member of the Irish Parliament, was one of Swift's neighbours at Laracor, and Ford had doubtless attracted Swift's attention by gifts which led his *alma mater*, the University of Dublin, to confer on him an honorary master of arts degree. He was a grandson of Sir Henry Ford who had served as Secretary to two Irish viceroys, Lord Robartes and the Earl of Essex, and had inherited both Toryism and talents from Sir Henry who, Prince tells us in "The Worthies of Devon," was "looked upon as the glory of the West for his abilities and steady principles in respect of both Church and State."

³ *Supra*, p. 336, n. 1.

well, and a cessation of arms will be declared with France in London, on Tuesday next. I dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury to-day, and sat an hour by Mrs. Warburton teaching her when she played wrong at ombre, and I cannot see her defects; either my eyes fail me, or they are partial. But Mrs. Touchet is an ugly awkward slut.² What do you do all the afternoon? How come you to make it secret to me, that you all design to come to Windsor? If you were never here, I think you all cannot do better than come for three or four days; five pounds will maintain you and pay for your coach backwards and forwards. I suppose the Captain will go down with you now, for want of better company. I will steal to town one of these days and catch you napping. I desire you and Moll³ will walk as often as you can in the Park, and do not sit moping at home, you that can neither work, nor read, nor play, nor care for company. I long to drink a dish of coffee in the sluttery, and hear you dun me for [a] secret, and "Drink your coffee. Why don't you drink your coffee?" My humble service to your mother, and Moll, and the Colonel. Adieu.

Addressed.—To Mrs. Esther Vanhomrigh, Junior, at her lodgings over against Park Place, in St. James's Street, London.

CXLVIII. [Scott.]

MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH TO SWIFT

London, *September 1, 1712.*

HAD I a correspondent in China, I might have had an answer by this time.⁴ I never could think till now, that

¹ Writing on 11 January in that year Peter Wentworth says that the Queen is going to marry her maid, Mrs. Warburton, "to one of a great estate and a great Whig" ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 244).

² Miss Touchet appears to have been a member of Lady Shrewsbury's household (*cf.* "Prose Works," ii, 254, and "The Wentworth Papers," p. 427).

³ *Supra*, p. 306, n. 3.

⁴ A careful study of the preceding and two succeeding letters has led to the conclusion that the imputation of a design on the part of the

London was so far off in your thoughts, and that twenty miles were, by your computation, equal to some thousands. I thought it a piece of charity to undeceive you in this point, and to let you know, if you give yourself the trouble to write, I may probably receive your letter in a day: it was that made me venture to take pen in hand the third time. Sure you will not let it be to no purpose. You must needs be extremely happy where you are, to forget your absent friends; and I believe you have formed a new system, and think there is no more of this world, passing your sensible horizon. If this be your notion, I must excuse you; if not, you can plead no other excuse; and, if it be, Sir, I must reckon myself of another world; but I shall have much ado to be persuaded, till you send me some convincing arguments of it. Do not dally in a thing of this consequence, but demonstrate that it is possible to keep up a correspondence between friends, though in different worlds, and assure one another, as I do you, that I am

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
E. VANHOMRIGH.¹

CXLIX. [*Scott.*]

MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH TO SWIFT

London, *September 2, 1712.*

MR. LEWIS tells me you have made a solemn resolution to leave Windsor the moment we come there; it is a noble

Vanhomrighs to visit Windsor was an invention of Swift's fertile imagination, which it will be seen later on in this Correspondence was similarly exercised in the case of a letter to Stella. Vanessa caught apparently with alacrity at the suggestion and wrote proposing to come herself with only her brother as an escort. To this proposal Swift, foreseeing much inconvenience to himself from such a course, did not reply.

¹ In a subsequent volume the circumstances which resulted in the preservation and publication of the correspondence between Swift and Vanessa will be discussed. It seems beyond question that all the letters which are forthcoming were in her possession at the time of her death. That Swift returned to her those which she had written to him is highly improbable, and the only supposition to account for their

res[olution] pray keep to it.¹ Now, that I may be noways accessory to your breaking it, I design to send Mr. Lewis word to a minute when we shall leave London, that he may tell you. And might I advise you, it should be to set out from Windsor just at the same time that we leave London, and if there be a by-way you had better take it, for I very much apprehend that seeing us will make you break through all, at least I am sure it would make you heartily repent; and I would not for the world, could I avoid it, give any uneasiness upon this score, because I must infallibly upon another. For when Mr. Lewis told me what you had done, which I must needs say, was not in so soft a manner as he ought, both out of friendship to you, and compassion to me, I immediately swore, that, to be revenged of you, I would stay in Windsor as long as Mrs. H——e did, and, if that was not long enough to tease you, I would follow her to Hampton Court, and then I should see which will give you most vexation, seeing me but sometimes, or not seeing her at all. Besides, Mr. Lewis has promised me to intercept all your letters to her, and hers to you; at least he says I shall read them *en passant*, and, for sealing them again, let him look to that. I think your ruin is amply contrived, for which do not blame me, but yourself, for it was your rashness prompted to this malice, which I should never else have thought of.

CL. [*Scott.*]

SWIFT TO MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH

Windsor Castle, *September 3, 1712.*

I SEND this haunch of venison to your mother, not to you, and this letter to you, not your mother. I had your last,

preservation that seems possible is the remarkable one that Vanessa kept copies of them. In this connection it is to be borne in mind that she was then older than has been conjectured from a reference to her in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 222), and cannot have been less at that time than twenty-four (*supra*, p. 299, n. 1).

¹ Apparently the preceding letter had crossed one from Erasmus Lewis (*supra*, p. 309, n. 1) to Vanessa written on Swift's instructions suggesting in a humorous way reasons why her visit to Windsor would be at that time impolitic.

and your bill, and know your reasons. I have ordered Barber to send you the overplus sealed up:¹ I am full of business and ill humour.² Some end or other shall soon be put to both. I thought you would have been here yesterday. Is your journey hither quite off? I hope Moll is recovered of her illness, and then you may come.³ Have you escaped your share in this new fever?⁴ I have hitherto, though of late I am not very well in my head.

You rally very well: Mr. Lewis allows you to do so.⁵ I read your letter to him. I have not time to answer, the coach and venison being just ready to go. Pray eat half an ounce at least of the venison, and present my humble service to your mother, Moll, and the Colonel. I had his letter, and will talk to him about it when he comes. This letter, I doubt, will smell of the venison. I wish the hang-dog coachman may not spoil the haunch in the carriage. *Je suis à vous*, etc.

Addressed—To Mrs. Esther Vanhomrigh, the younger, at her lodgings over against Park Place, in St. James's Street, London. Carriage paid.

¹ Possibly Vanessa had enclosed a bill in one of her letters to Swift, or more probably the idea was fabricated by Swift as an excuse for sending her some money. Swift often used his beloved printer, John Barber, who is so frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, in the capacity of a secretary, and there is ground for thinking that he was at that time with Swift at Windsor (*infra*, p. 344, n. 1).

² Swift began the composition of the "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" at that time, and several deaneries were vacant—circumstances which sufficiently account for his state of mind.

³ Without expressing direct disapproval of her visit to Windsor, Swift seeks to dissuade her by reminding her that her delicate sister would miss her company.

⁴ An epidemic of influenza was then raging. It laid low forty of the Queen's servants at one time, but "lasts not above three or four days and kills nobody" ("Prose Works," ii, 380). Peter Wentworth mentions "the new distemper called by Dr. Swift a feavouret" in his letters to his brother ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 294).

⁵ This casual reference to her letter of the preceding day is amusing. It recalls the lines in "Cadenus and Vanessa":

"She rallied well, he always knew:
Her manner now was something new."

CLI. [*Scott.*]

SWIFT TO MISS ESTHER VANHOMRIGH

Sunday, nine [o'clock, *September 8, 1712*].

I DID not forget the coffee, for I thought you should not be robbed of it. John does not go to Oxford, so I send back the book as you desire.¹ I would not see you for a thousand pounds if I could; but I am now in my night-gown, writing a dozen letters, and packing up papers. Why, then, you should not have come; and I know that as well as you.

My service to your mother. I doubt you do wrong to go to Oxford, but now that is past, since you cannot be in London to-night; and if I² do not inquire for acquaintance, but let somebody in the inn go about with you among the colleges, perhaps you will not be known. Adieu.

John presents his humble service to you. The fellow has been long coming.

Addressed—To Missessy.

CLII. [*Original.*³]

THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY AND MISS RAMSAY
TO SWIFT

Cleefden, Monday, [*September 16, 1712*].

I HAVE had great satisfaction in the favour of your letter, though disappointed, since not occasioned by yourself.

¹ Evidently Vanessa had come to Windsor, and probably either to please her fancy, or to escape from a place where he was surrounded by acquaintances, Swift had consented to go with her to Oxford. John can have been none other than John Barber, who was known to Vanessa.

² In Scott's edition ("Works," xix, 320) the substitution of "you" for "I" is suggested, as Scott, or more probably his assistant, thought there was no intention on Swift's part to accompany Vanessa to Oxford. It must be recollected that on such occasions Swift's style was purposely as ambiguous as possible.

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

When one is too quick, misjudging commonly follows. At first I feared Mr. Collier was taken with a fit of an apoplexy: the next line I read, I wished he had one.¹ If I did not apprehend, by your knowing me but a little, that I might grow troublesome where I distinguished, you should not want any conveniency to bring you hither to Mrs. Ramsay² and me, who are both, without compliment, truly mortified, intending ever to be, Sir,

Your sincere humble servants,

E. ORKNEY.

ELIZ. RAMSAY.

We design to be at Windsor on Wednesday, where I hope you will meet with me in the drawing-room, to tell me when you can dine with us.

CLIII. [*Original.*']

THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY TO SWIFT

Monday Morning, [*September 23, 1712*].

I AM sure you are very ill-natured—I would not have been so cross to you—to have known Mr. Lewis and me so long, and not a made us acquainted sooner, when you know too that I have been in search of a reasonable conversation.⁴ I have no way to excuse you but doubting his to be so agreeable at a second meeting, which I desire you will make when it is most convenient to both. It is not from custom I say I am extremely, Sir,

Your humble servant,

E. ORKNEY.

¹ Writing on the previous day to Stella from Windsor Swift says: "Lady Orkney, the late King's mistress, who lives at a fine place, five miles from hence, called Cleefden, and I are grown mighty acquaintance" ("Prose Works," ii, 383). She had doubtless sought for him while he was at Oxford, and in order to explain his absence his old friend Collier (*supra*, p. 114) was revived by Swift.

² "An old lady of about fifty-five that we are all very fond of" ("Prose Works," ii, 407).

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ Lady Orkney had doubtless come to Windsor on the previous Wednesday as she intended, and been introduced by Swift to Erasmus Lewis.

When you read this, I fancy you will think, what does she write to me? I hate a letter as much as my Lord Treasurer does a petition.

CLIV. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ARCHBISHOP KING

London, *October 21, 1712.*

MY LORD,

SINCE I had the honour of your Grace's letter of July 29th, which found me at Windsor, I have been extremely out of order with a giddiness in my head, which pursued me until very lately; but, by an uneasy course of physic, I hope I have in some sort overcome it.¹

We are now in very near expectation of a peace; and your Grace, I hope, will believe it as good a one as the circumstances of things would allow. I confess I agree with your Grace, that the great difficulty was about the danger of France and Spain being united under one King. To my knowledge all possible means have been taken to secure that matter: and yet, after all, the weakest side will be there. Renunciations by France have very justly so little credit, that I do not wonder so little weight is laid on them. But Spain, we are sure, will, for their own sakes, enter into all securities to prevent that union; and all the allies must be guarantees. If you still object that some danger still remains, what is to be done? Your Grace is altogether misinformed, if you think that this is at all the difficulty which so long made the Dutch untractable. It was nothing less: neither have they once mentioned, during all the negotiation at Utrecht, one syllable of getting Spain out of the Bourbon family, or into that of Austria, as the chief men have assured me not three days ago. Buys offered last winter to ease us immediately of the trouble we were in by Lord Nottingham's vote, if we

¹ Swift returned to London from Windsor on 29 September; before leaving that place he complained to Stella of a return of the old giddiness (*supra*, p. 129, n. 2), and on his arrival in London adopted treatment which had been prescribed for him by Arbuthnot ("Prose Works," ii, 385, 389).

would consent to let them share with us in the advantages we had stipulated with France; which advantages, however, did by no means clash with Holland, and were only conditional, if peace should ensue. But, my Lord, we know farther, that the Dutch made offers to treat with France, before we received any from thence; and were refused, upon the ill-usage they gave Mr. Torcy at the Hague, and the Abbé de Polignac afterward at Gertruydenberg:¹ and we know that Torcy would have been forced to apply to them again, if, after several refusals, we had not hearkened to their overtures. What I tell your Grace is infallibly true; and care shall be taken very soon to satisfy the world in this, and many other particulars at large, which ought to be known: for, the kingdom is very much in the dark, after all the pains hitherto taken to inform it.²

Your Grace's conjectures are very right, that a general peace would not be for our interest, if we had made ours with France. And I remember a certain great man used to say two months ago, "Fight on, fight on, my merry men all." I believe likewise, that such a peace would have happened, if the Dutch had not lately been more compliant: upon which our Ministers told those of France, that since the States were disposed to submit to the Queen, her Majesty must enter into their interests; and I believe they have as good conditions as we ever intended they should. Tournay, I hope, will be yielded to them: and Lille we never designed they should have. The Emperor will be used as he deserves; and having paid nothing for the war, shall get nothing by the peace. We are most concerned—next to our regard to Holland—for Savoy, and France for Bavaria. I believe we shall make them both Kings, by the help of Sardinia and Sicily. But I know not how plans may alter every day. The Queen's whole design, as your Grace conjectures, is to act the part of a mediator; and our advantages, too many to insert here, must be owned very great.

As for an academy to correct and settle our language,

¹ To the Marquis de Torcy, and to Cardinal de Polignac who represented France at the Utrecht Congress, frequent reference will be found in the "Prose Works."

² Swift's thoughts were then wholly occupied with his "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," in which these subjects are discussed at length ("Prose Works," x, *passim*).

Lord Treasurer talks of it often very warmly; but I doubt, is yet too busy, until the peace be over. He goes down to Windsor on Friday, to be chosen of the garter, with five more Lords. I know nothing of promises of anything intended for myself; but, I thank God, I am not very warm in my expectations, and know Courts too well to be surprised at disappointments; which, however, I shall have no great reason to fear, if I gave my thoughts any trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not; although I cannot expect to be believed when I say so.¹ I am, etc.,

JON. SWIFT.

CLV. [*Copy.*²]

ARCHBISHOP KING TO SWIFT

Dublin, *November 4, 1712.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE read yours of October 21st six or seven times and confess that nothing has happened to me this many years, that gave me so great mortification. I am unwilling, nay I cannot for my life bring myself to think that our affairs are in so ill a posture as you represent them. I do not wonder that the French were more willing to treat with England than Holland, for it has been observed that Holland has commonly made their party good with them in treaties, whereas England is famous for being bubbled in all transactions with them from the time of Pharamond to the treaty of Ryswick inclusive. I hope this will be an instance to the contrary.

I think the views of the confederates and France as to a peace are very different. The confederates desire a peace that they may disband their armies and save the charges of their pay, but France desires it in order to recruit theirs by those soldiers of fortune that the confederates disband, and if care be not taken they will effectually so do. It is

¹ In a note on a copy of this letter in the Forster Collection, Forster observes that "there is something very uneasy in the Archbishop's frequent references to Swift's chances of promotion and something like scorn in Swift's quiet assertion of an indifference which he did not feel."

² In King's Correspondence. See Preface.

plain to any that will consider the state of Europe for the last age, that the great source of all the wars and miseries that have effected it have had their rise from the great standing army kept by France; and whilst he has in pay about four hundred thousand men, no leagues, no promises, no oaths can bind him, nor frontiers, garrisons or guarantees secure his neighbours from him; for before they can raise or discipline their armies he has done his work and some of the confederates against him will always be bought off by some particular advantages granted to them to sell all the rest, and let him keep what he has got, and perhaps restore what by any has been got from him. And therefore if no care be taken in the treaty to confine him to certain conditions, to a certain number of ships and troops, it seems that all treaties, articles, leagues and conditions of peace entered in by him are mere delusions designed by him to put those with whom he treats off their guard, and then to surprise them, which has actually been the case in all the peaces this French King ever entered into: and rest satisfied that it will of this, if not under these obligations.

I am told there is a book writ by your friend Sir William Temple called "Memoirs" that talks at this rate, and gives an account of the peace of Nimeguen, which they say was treated the same way, and the barrier articles and everything was in it as in this, and the men that managed it were of the same principles; though I am not fond of reading politic books, I have a great mind to buy this, if you assure me that it is worth my while.

I was yesterday on horseback to take the air: the horse fell and has much bruised my foot. I am sorry to hear of your indisposition. I wish you were settled and a little more your own man. Pray lay aside your modesty and push it. I do not encourage ambition, but think it very lawful for a man to endeavour by lawful means to settle himself in a station wherein he may be easy to himself, and useful to the public; pray make hay whilst the sun shines—*post est occasio salvae*—and be sure you do not call these quotations pedantry for they are grave wise sentences and nobody can say the thing better. You may pass over the other parts of this letter as you please, but pray read the last twice. I heartily recommend you, etc.

W. D[UBLIN].

Dr. Swift.

CLVI. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO MISS ALICE HILL

[*November,*] 1712.¹

MADAM,

I WAS commanded some days ago to do what I had long a mind to, but avoided because I would not offend your prudence, or strain your eyes.² But my Lord Masham assures me there is no danger of either; and that you have courage enough to read a letter, though it comes from a man, provided it be one of no consequence, which his Lordship would insinuate to be my case; but I hope you will not affront me so highly as to understand it so. There is not a grain of news in this town, or five miles about it, worth sending you; and what we receive from Windsor is full as insignificant, except the accounts of the Queen's health, and your housekeeping. We are assured that you keep a constant table, and that your guests leave you with full stomachs and full pockets; that Dr. Arbuthnot sometimes leaves his beloved green cloth, to come and receive your chidings, and pick up your money. We intend shortly to represent your case to my Lord Treasurer, as what deserves commiseration: but we hope the matter is already settled between his Lordship and you, and that you are instructed to be thus magnificent, in order to carry on the cause. We reckon his Lordship's life is now secure, since a combination of bandboxes and inkhorns, the engines of late times, were employed in vain to destroy him.³ He

¹ The references in this letter, which has been hitherto dated May or July 1712, to the band-box plot and to Lady Masham indicate that it must have been written early in November.

² The Court had not yet left Windsor, and Miss Hill (*supra*, p. 336, n. 5) was filling not only her own place but that of her sister, Lady Masham, who was at that time unable to be in attendance.

³ When telling Stella of his opening the box, Swift says: "A gentleman told me that, if I had been killed, the Whigs would have called it a judgment, because the barrels were of inkhorns, with which I had done them so much mischief" ("Prose Works," ii, 394). Wyon believes (*op. cit.*, ii, 418) that there was a deliberate attempt to kill Oxford. He says that Swift only escaped through cutting the cord which was tied round the box, with a penknife. If the cord had been slipped off as was intended, the trigger would have been pulled.

will do me the justice to tell you, that I never fail of toasting you under the name of "the Governess of Dunkirk," and that you have the honour to be very particularly in my good graces.

My Lady Masham still continues in a doubtful state of neither up nor down; and one of her servants told mine, that they did not expect she would cry out this fortnight.¹ I saw yesterday our brother Hill,² who promises to be more thrifty of his health, and seems to have a pretty good stock of it. I hope you receive no visits from the headache and the spleen: and one who knows your constitution very well, advises you by all means, against sitting in the dusk at your window, or on the ground, leaning on your hand, or at see-saw in your chair. I am, Madam, etc.

CLVII. [*Original.*³]

THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY TO SWIFT

London, *November 21, 1712.*

THIS key will open treasures; but vain in me to know them. Your convenience is my satisfaction. If I can or may read what will be in this table, it ought and shall be my happiness.⁴ You must discern this comes from the most interested joiner that ever made a thing of this nature. Peruse narrowly; and what faults you find, they shall be mended in every particular, to the utmost capacity of, Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,
E. ORKNEY.

¹ To Stella Swift says Lady Masham "is expecting these two months to lie in" ("Prose Works," ii, 394).

² The Governor of Dunkirk (*supra*, p. 336, n. 4), like the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland, thought his duties could best be discharged in London, and had soon returned to the metropolis.

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ A few weeks before, Swift says to Stella: "Lady Orkney is making me a writing table of her own contrivance, and a bed nightgown. She is perfectly kind, like a mother" ("Prose Works," ii, 392).

CLVIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY

November 21, 1712.

MADAM,

WHEN, upon parting with your Ladyship,¹ you were pleased to tell me I should find your present at home, natural justice prompted me to resolve, that the first use I made of it should be in paying acknowledgments to my benefactor. But, when I opened the writing-table, which I must now call mine, I found you had neither sent pens, ink, nor paper, sufficient for such an undertaking. But I ought to tell your Ladyship in order, that I first got there a much more valuable thing: and I cannot do greater honour to my escritoire, than to assure your Ladyship that your letter is the first thing I have put in it, and shall be the last I will ever take out. I must tell your Ladyship, that I am this moment under a very great concern. I was fully convinced that I should write with a new spirit by the influence of the materials you sent me; but it is quite otherwise: I have not a grain of invention, whether out of the confusion which attends us when we strive too much to acquit ourselves, or whether your pens and ink are sullen, and think themselves disgraced, since they have changed their owner. I heartily thank your Ladyship, for making me a present that looks like a sort of establishment. I plainly see, by the contrivance, that if you were first Minister, it would have been a cathedral. As it is, you have more contributed towards fixing me, than all the Ministry together: for it is difficult to travel with this equipage, and it will be impossible to travel or

¹ Swift says to Stella that Lady Orkney was one of the few persons whom he saw at that time. It is probable that he found her of assistance to him in writing "The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen." He pronounced her the wisest woman he ever met, and says that Oxford made great use of her advice. She was evidently captivated by Swift, and so great was his influence that a few days before he had healed a long-standing feud between her and her sister-in-law, the unfortunate Duchess of Hamilton, whose husband was killed that month in a duel with Lord Mohun ("Prose Works," ii, 394, 395, 399).

live without it. You have an undoubted title to whatever papers this table shall ever contain, except your letter, and I desire you will please to have another key made for it; that when the Court shall think fit to give me a room worth putting it into, your Ladyship may come and search it whenever you please.

I beg your Ladyship to join in laughing with me, at my unreasonable vanity, when I wished that the motto written about the wax was a description of yourself. But, if I am disappointed in that, your Ladyship will be so in all the rest; even this ink will never be able to convey your Ladyship's note as it ought. The paper will contain no wonders, but when it mentions you; neither is the seal any otherwise an emblem of my life, than by the deep impression your Ladyship has made, which nothing but my death can wear out. By the inscription about the pens, I fear there is some mistake; and that your Ladyship did not design them for me. However, I will keep them until you can find the person you intended should have them, and who will be able to dispose of them according to your predictions. I cannot find that the workman you employed and directed, has made the least mistake: but there are four implements wanting. The first two I shall not name, because an odd superstition forbids us to accept them from our friends;¹ the third is a sponge, which the people long have given so ill a reputation to, that I vow it shall be no gift of your Ladyship: the last is a flat ivory instrument, used in folding up letters, which I insist you must provide.

See, Madam, the first fruits this unlucky present of yours has produced. It is but giving a fiddle to a scraper, or a pestle and mortar to an apothecary, or a Tory pamphlet to Mrs. Ramsay.² Nothing is so great a discouragement to generous persons as the fear of being worried by acknowledgments. Besides, your Ladyship is an unsufferable kind of giver, making every present fifty times the value, by the circumstances and manner. And I know people in the world, who would not oblige me so much, at the cost of a thousand pounds, as you have done at that of twenty pounds; which, I must needs tell you, is an unconscionable way of dealing, and whereof, I believe nobody alive is so guilty as yourself. In short, you deceive my eyes, and cor-

¹ A knife and scissors.

² *Supra*, p. 345.

rupt my judgement: nor am I now sure of any thing, but that of being, etc.

JON. SWIFT.

CLIX. [*Original*.¹]

THE COUNTESS OF ORKNEY TO SWIFT

Saturday, *November 23, 1712*.²

YOU are extremely obliging to write how well you take my whim, in telling my true thoughts of your mind: for I was ashamed when I reflected, and hoped I should see you soon after expressing the value I have of you in an uncommon way.³ But this I writ with assurance that I am, very sincerely, Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,
E. ORKNEY.

Addressed—For Dr. Swift.

CLX. [*Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*.⁴]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH

Saturday noon [*December 13, 1712*].

MY LORD,⁵

I AM writing almost in the dark in my Lady Duchess of Hamilton's bedchamber.⁶ Her Grace is on one side, and my Lady Oglethorpe on the other.⁷ The latter com-

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² The date is added by Swift.

³ Lady Orkney presented Swift in the following February with her portrait, "a very fine original of Sir Godfrey Kneller's" ("Prose Works," ii, 426).

⁴ Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. II, App. Pt. v, p. 317.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 212, n. 3.

⁶ Writing to Stella on the same day, Swift says: "I must see my brother Ormond at eleven, and then the Duchess of Hamilton with whom I doubt I am in disgrace, not having seen her these ten days" ("Prose Works," ii, 400). After the death of her husband, Swift had been unceasing in his efforts to console her, and a daily visitor.

⁷ The widow of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. There are several

mands me to write to your Lordship, and to entreat that you would hasten her daughter's pass, the maid being to go away at two o'clock to-day, and her daughter to-morrow with the Duchess of Shrewsbury.¹ Therefore I desire to use my little credit with your Lordship to do what my Lady Oglethorpe desires, that the pass may be signed as soon as possible, by which I find she means by two o'clock to-day. I am with the greatest respect, etc.,
J. SWIFT.

CLXI. [*Original*.²]

WILLIAM HARRISON TO SWIFT

Utrecht, *December 16, 1712.*

YOUR thanks of the 25th of November, Sir, come before their time;³ the condition of the obligation being, that you should receive twelve shirts, which number shall be completed by the first proper occasion. Your kind letter, however, is extremely seasonable; and, next to a note from the Treasury, has proved the most vivifying cordial in the world. If you please to send me now and then as much of the same as will lie upon the top of your pen, I shall be content to take sheets for shirts to the end of the chapter.

allusions to her in the *Journal to Stella* as being behind the scenes in the Court of Queen Anne. To such a position she was no stranger, as before her marriage she had been one of the Duchess of Portsmouth's ladies in waiting, and was looked upon as one of the fair conspirators in the Court of Charles II. She was by birth an Irishwoman, a daughter of Richard Wall, of Rogane, in the county of Tipperary (*Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormond, Hist. MSS. Com.*).

¹ When writing in the morning to Stella Swift had mentioned that "the Duke of Shrewsbury goes in a day or two for France, perhaps to-day." This reference has enabled the date of the letter to be affixed.

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ The story of "that much lov'd youth," the writer of this letter, whose premature death two months later gave occasion for one of the most touching passages in the *Journal to Stella*, is too well known to need repetition, but as preface to this letter there may be quoted what Peter Wentworth wrote to his brother, the Earl of Strafford, when Harrison was setting out to join him at the Hague: "The man has a very good character for a very ingenious man and a good clerk, which all scholars are not, for some are so affected with their learning that they bring it in where they should not" (*The Wentworth Papers*, p. 191).

Since you are so good as to enter into my affairs, I shall trouble you with a detail of them, as well as of my conduct since I left England; which, in my opinion, you have a right to inspect, and approve or condemn as you think fit. During my state of probation with the Earl of Strafford, it was my endeavour to recommend myself to his Excellency rather by fidelity, silence, and an entire submission, than by an affectation to shine in his service; and whatever difficulties, whatever discouragements, fell in my way, I think it appears that they were surmounted in the end; and my advancement followed upon it sooner than I expected. Another would say, much sooner than I deserved, which I should easily agree to, were it not, that I flatter myself there is some merit in the behaviour I kept, when the hopes and temptation of being preferred glittered in my eyes.¹

All the world knows upon what foot Mr. Watkins thought himself with my Lord Strafford;² and though all the world does not know what I am going to tell you, yet Mr. Watkins does on one hand, and my Lord Strafford on the other, that all the credit I had with either, was heartily, and without reserve, employed to make matters easy; and to cultivate in my humble station, that good understanding, which our Court desired should be between them. I had my reasons for this, and such perhaps as flowed from an inclination to promote my own interest. I knew as well as any man living almost, how much Mr. Watkins was valued by my Lord Bolingbroke and others. I foresaw the danger of standing in competition with him, if that case should happen: and, to tell you the truth, I did not think myself ripe in regard of interest at home, or of any service I could pretend to have done abroad to succeed Mr. Watkins in so good an employment. Above all, I protest to you, Sir, that if I know my own heart, I am capable of suffering the utmost extremities rather than violate the in-

¹ Lady Strafford writes from London shortly before Harrison's death to her husband: "I saw your favourite Mr. Harrison yesterday, who says you are the best of men and that he has found you so" ("The Wentworth Papers," p. 319).

² From one of Peter Wentworth's letters (*ibid.*, p. 187) it may be gathered that his brother was not much enamoured of Watkins, who was greatly attached to the Duke of Marlborough, and who appears to have been superseded at Utrecht by Harrison.

finite duty and gratitude I owe my Lord Bolingbroke, by doing an ill office to a person honoured with such particular marks of his Lordship's esteem. I might add to this, that I really loved Mr. Watkins; and I beg you, Sir, to urge him to the proof, whether my whole behaviour was not such, as might justify the warmest professions I can make of that kind. After all this, how comes it, that he, either in raillery or good earnest, accuses me of having any resentment against him? By word of mouth when he left us, by letters so long as he allowed me to correspond with him, and by all the people that ever went from Utrecht to Flanders, have I importuned him for the continuance of his friendship; and, perhaps, even in his absence, if he pleases to reflect, given him a very essential proof of mine. If anybody has thought it worth their while to sow division between us, I wish he thought it worth his to let me into the secret; and nothing, he may be sure, shall be wanting on my side to defeat a stratagem, which, for aught I know, may end in the starving of his humble servant; which leads me naturally to the second thing proposed to be spoken to in my text; namely, my circumstances.

For between you and me, Sir, I apprehend that the Treasury will issue out no money on my account, till they know what is due on that of Mr. Watkins; and if he has any pretensions, I have none, that I know of, but what are as precarious to me, as a stiver I gave away but now to a beggar, was to him. Is it possible that Mr. Watkins can demand the pay of a commission, which is, by the Queen herself, actually superseded, during his absence from his post? Or is it not as plainly said in mine, that I am her Majesty's Secretary during such his absence, as in his that he was so, while he resided here? If I must be crushed, Sir, for God's sake let some reason be alleged for it; or else an ingenuous confession made, that *stat pro ratione voluntas*. If you can fix Mr. Watkins to any final determination on this subject, you will do me a singular service, and I shall take my measures accordingly. Though I know your power, I cannot help distrusting it on this occasion.

Before I conclude, give me leave to put you in mind of beating my thanks into my Lord Bolingbroke's ears, for his late generosity, to the end that his Lordship may be wearied out of the evil habit he has got, of heaping more

obligations and goodness on those he is pleased to favour, than their shoulders are able to bear. For my own part, I have so often thanked his Lordship, that I have now no more ways left to turn my thoughts; and beg if you have any right good compliments neat and fine by you, that you will advance the necessary, and place them, with the other helps you have given me, to my account; which I question not but I shall be able to acknowledge at one and the same time, *ad Græcas calendas*.

In the meantime, I shall do my best to give you just such hints as you desire by the next post; though I cannot but think there are some letters in the office, which would serve your turn a good deal better than anything I can tell you about the people at the Hague. Your access there abundantly prevents my attempting to write you any news from hence. And I assure you, Sir, you can write me none from England, however uneasy my circumstances are, which will be so agreeable to me as that of your long-expected advancement. It grieves me to the soul, that a person, who has been so instrumental to the raising of me from obscurity and distress, should not be yet set above the power of fortune, and the malice of those enemies your real merit has created. I beg, dear Sir, the continuance of your kind care and inspection over me; and that you would in all respects command, reprove, or instruct me as a father; for I protest to you, Sir, I do, and ever shall, honour and regard you with the affection of a son.¹

CLXII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND

December 20, 1712.

MADAM,

ANY other person, of less refinement and prudence than myself, would be at a loss how to thank your Grace, upon the surprise of coming home last night, and finding two pictures where only one was demanded.² But I understand

¹ Swift wrote frequently to Harrison while he was abroad. See Appendix III.

² Writing on the previous evening to Stella, Swift says: "The

your Grace's malice, and do here affirm you to be the greatest prude upon earth. You will not so much as let your picture be alone in a room with a man, no not with a clergyman, and a clergyman of five-and-forty: and therefore resolved my Lord Duke should accompany it, and keep me in awe, that I might not presume to look too often upon it. For my own part, I begin already to repent that I ever begged your Grace's picture; and could almost find in my heart to send it you back: for, although it be the most beautiful sight I ever beheld, except the original, yet the veneration and respect it fills me with, will always make me think I am in your Grace's presence; will hinder me from saying and writing twenty idle things that used to divert me; will set me labouring upon majestic, sublime ideas, at which I have no manner of talent; and will make those who come to visit me, think I am grown, on the sudden, wonderful stately and reserved. But, in life we must take the evil with the good; and it is one comfort, that I know how to be revenged. For the sight of your Grace's resemblance will perpetually remind me of paying my duty to your person; which will give your Grace the torment, and me the felicity, of a more frequent attendance.

But, after all, to deal plainly with your Grace, your picture, and I must say the same of my Lord Duke's, will be of very little use, farther than to let others see the honour you are pleased to do me: for all the accomplishments of your mind and person are so deeply printed in the heart, and represent you so lively to my imagination, that I should take it for a high affront, if you believed it in the power of colours to refresh my memory: almost as high a one, as if your Grace should deny me the justice of being, with the most profound respect and gratitude, Madam, your Grace's, etc.

JON. SWIFT.

Duchess of Ormond promised me her picture, and coming home to-night I found hers and the Duke's both in my chamber. Was not that a pretty civil surprise? Yes, and they are in fine gilded frames too" ("Prose Works," ii, 401).

SUPPLEMENTAL LETTERS

IIIA. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO THOMAS SWIFT

Moor Park,² *May 3rd*, 1692.

I CONFESS I have been tedious in answering your letter, and I put it up so carefully that I was half an hour looking for it just now.³ I had no excuse but too much idleness, which is always a sufficient one with me, and though it would not pass well in the world, yet I am sure has the same effect on me as too much business has there. I beg your pardon for my false intelligence; I assure you news and reports are what I usually give perhaps but too little credit—if it be possible—to, but hearing this from Mr. Ashe who having been a secretary to my Lord Paget, two years in the Emperor's Court, and frequenting ours here very much,⁴ and bringing this news that day from thence,

¹ In the possession of Lieutenant More Molyneux McCowen of Losely Park, Surrey. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 3, n. 3.

³ This letter shows that Swift had gone to Oxford in the previous December for the purpose, as has been suggested (*supra*, p. 9, n. 2) of seeing his cousin Thomas Swift, his old schoolfellow and college companion, to whom this letter is addressed. Evidently since his return to Moor Park several letters had passed between them.

⁴ St. George Ashe, erstwhile Swift's college tutor and afterwards Bishop of Clogher, was one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, who went to England before James II came to Ireland (*supra*, p. 2, n. 2). His maternal relations, the St. Georges, five of whom were Kings of Arms, were well known at Court, and doubtless it was through their influence that Ashe obtained an appointment in the embassy sent to Vienna under William, sixth Baron Paget. As appears from letters addressed by Ashe to a distinguished German genealogist, James W. Imhoff (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 24927), Ashe was at Vienna from 1689 until the close of the year 1691. In February, 1691-2, he writes from London.

to converse about two or three years ago, and very often upon that subject, but I say, I cannot finish it for my life, and I have done nine stanzas and do not like half of them, nor am nigh finished, but there it lies and I sometimes add to it, and would wish it were done to my desire, I would send it to my bookseller and make him print it with my name and all; to show my respect and gratitude to that excellent person, and to perform half a promise I made his Lordship of Ely upon it.¹

I am not mistaken in my critic, for it is written "To thee all conq. etc." in that poem, nor do I like your mending it any better, therefore give it another wipe, and then it will be one of my favourites. I have a sort of vanity or foiblesse, I do not know what to call it, and which I would fain know if you partake of it: it is—not to be circumstantial—that I am overfond of my own writings; I would not have the world think so, for a million, but it is so, and I find when I write what pleases me I am Cowley² to myself and can read it a hundred times over. I know it is a desperate weakness, and has nothing to defend it but its secrecy, and I know farther, that I am wholly in the wrong, but have the same pretence, the baboon had to praise her children, and indeed I think the love in both is much alike, and their being our own offspring is what makes me such a blockhead. I am just the same way to yours, and though I resolve to be a severe critic yet I cannot but think I see a thousand beauties, and no faults in what you take any pains about, for as to the rest I can easily dis-

¹ The ode to Archbishop Sancroft, with three more stanzas, but still in an incomplete state, is included amongst Swift's "Poetical Works." It has been described as an "Ode to Doctor William Sancroft, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, written in May 1689 at the desire of the late Lord Bishop of Ely," but it was manifest from the ode that there was a mistake in the date attributed to it, for in the third stanza Swift speaks of "the good Sancroft, in his holy rest, in the divinity of retreat," and it was not until the year 1690 that Sancroft was deprived of the archbishopric and vacated Lambeth. As Sir Henry Craik has observed ("Life," i, 41), the ode is remarkable as showing what a high place Swift gave, even before taking holy orders, to the Church's privileges, and this letter is no less striking as indicating the distinction which Swift drew between the opinions held by the two non-jurors, Archbishop Sancroft and the "unhappy" Bishop Turner, the one a passive resister, the other an active agent for the restoration of James II.

² At the age of fifteen Swift had been a student and admirer of Cowley ("Prose Works," iv, 10).

tinguish when either of us have been idle. I am just so to all my acquaintance: I mean in proportion to my love of them, and particularly to Sir William Temple. I never read his writings but I prefer him to all others at present in England, which I suppose is all but a piece of self-love, and the likeness of humours makes one fond of them as if they were one's own.

I do not at all like your ordering your fortune. On my conscience you will be a beggar, and I was just going to ask you the old musty question, what do you propose, etc. I confess a present happiness is a thing not to be slighted so much as the world thinks, I mean with being too anxious for the future, but I deny yours to be a present happiness, and I was going to call you a poor ignorant contented fellow for thinking [it is,] but that if you do, your very thoughts make it so. And I will not take the pains to lug you out only to give you demonstration that you are under water. All that I can say is I wish to God you were well provided for, though it were with a good living in the Church.

This Virgil sticks plaguily on my hands. I did about two hundred lines, and gave it to my Lady Giffard¹ for a sample, and she and Sir William Temple like it as I would have them, but he will not allow that I should leave out, what I mentioned to you, which begins, *in foribus letum Androgei*, etc., and so for about ten lines,² and about three lines in a place beyond it, *foliis tantum ne carmina manda*, etc.,³ which perhaps I know the meaning of, but it is con-

¹ *Supra*, p. 170, n. 2.

² "Then o're the lofty gate his art emboss'd
Androgeo's death, and off'rings to his ghost;
Sev'n youths from Athens yearly sent to meet
The fate appointed by revengeful Creet.
And next to them the dreadful urn was plac'd,
In which the destin'd name by lots were cast;
The mournful parents stand around in tears;
And rising Creet against their shore appears.
There, too, in living sculpture might be seen
The mad affection of the Cretan Queen:" etc., etc.

—DRYDEN, "Aeneid," vi, 20-47.

³ "But, oh! commit not thy prophetic mind
To flitting hours, the sport of ev'ry wind;
Lest they disperse in air our empty fate:
Write not, but, what the Pow'rs ordain, relate."

—*Ibid.*, 116-119.

founded silly nonsense in English. Prithee if you can make better of either of them tell me. What I writ was not worth transcribing to you, and besides, I was dunned for it.¹

I like your style to the girl but you make no conscience because it is to a woman and therefore borrow from rich Mr. Cowley. Well it is cleanlyly absurd, and if she has any sense your entertainment is very agreeable, but egad! I cannot write anything easy to be understood though it were but in the praise of an old shoe, and sometime or other I will send you something I writ to a young lady in Ireland which I call the Ramble,² and it will show you what I say is true.

My tutor promises me a *testimonium* and I stay for him, but I have been often told that though midsummer was not the only time yet it was the best time to commence.³ However, what makes me uneasy is for fear of coming off ill either in not getting that *testimonium* or else ill performing acts. I have got up my Latin pretty well, and am getting up my Greek, but to enter upon causes of Philosophy is what I protest I will rather die in a ditch than go about, and so adieu.

J. S.

Send me word how I shall direct hereafter.⁴

Addressed—To Mr. Swift at Sir John Morgan's in Kinnersley, to be left with John Griffith in Weobley, Herefordshire.

Endorsed—June 5 1692. Dr. Swift's letter taken from among Mrs. Catherall's papers.

¹ So far as is known Swift's attempt to forestall Dryden's great work never saw the light.

² This poem, as well as one called "The Poet," has been lost.

³ It would appear from Swift's letter to his uncle William (*supra*, p. 9), that Swift eventually owed the *testimonium* from Trinity College, Dublin, which enabled him to obtain a master of arts degree at Oxford without examination, more to his uncle than to Ashe.

⁴ Swift and his cousin must have met before long at Oxford, as Swift took his degree on 5 July and his cousin took his two days later.

IVA. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO THOMAS SWIFT

December 6, 1693.²

YOUR letter speaks of so many choices of employment, that one would think you too busy to be very unhappy; though the pinch of a present uneasiness makes one a very ill reasoner, and he that lies ill on one side though the posture may help to his health, is very hardly dissuaded from turning on the other. This is enough to say on that score, in the place this letter finds you.³ For the rest, I think the advice of a friend is very far from being disinterested, and to avoid that was the very reason I forbore it. I cannot at this distance give a judgement near enough upon your other hopes, but if they be not certain, I think there is no avoiding the choice of what is; this I told you, or something like it before. I protest I cannot much pity your present circumstances, which keep your mind and your body in motion, and myself was never very miserable while my thoughts were in a ferment, for I imagine a dead calm to be the troublesomest part of our voyage through the world. If that curacy were not disposed of which I once mentioned you, I think I should say it was, for it fits your present prospects almost as ill as it did your merit then.

Though you are so crammed with business I must needs desire your assistance in paying forty-five shillings for Nan Swift and Matt. Rooke⁴ and me, for our Dictionary which is about this time to be delivered, or else my bookseller

¹ In the possession of Lieutenant More Molyneux McCowen (*supra*, p. 361, n. 1).

² This letter was evidently written from Moor Park.

³ As appears from the address, Thomas Swift was then staying with his uncle Dr. Charles Davenant, the writer on political economy, to whom some of Swift's political writings were attributed ("Prose Works," *passim*).

⁴ Nan Swift was the eldest daughter of Swift's uncle Adam, the lady who married that "jackanapes" Perry (*supra*, p. 24, n. 2). Matthew Rooke was apparently, from the postscript, a son of one of Swift's cousins (see also "Prose Works," ii, 400).

(Simpson¹) may perhaps be careless in the choice of the copies, in which there is difference enough.

I desire you would inform yourself what you mean by bidding me keep my verses for Will Congreve's next play, for I tell you they were calculated for any of his, and if it were but acted when you say, it is as early as ever I intended, since I only design they should be printed before it, so I desire you will send me word immediately how it succeeded, whether well, ill or indifferently, because my sending them to Mr. Congreve depends upon knowing the issue.² They are almost two hundred and fifty lines not Pindaric,³ and if I could tell what is become of Mr. Thomas Swift whom I formerly knew, I would send them to him for his judgement, but for yourself it is ominous and so I will conclude.

Yours
J. SWIFT.

To thwart business with rhyme, to spoil its witchcraft, and my letter to cousin Rooke and Matt: she must find money for those Dictionaries, but to show how rich I am I will send her my share myself.

Addressed—For Mr. Swift at Dr. Davenant's in Red Lion Square near Holborn, London.

Endorsed—Dr. Swift's Letter, 1693; taken from Mrs. Catherall's papers.

¹ Ralph Simpson, Dunton says (*op. cit.*, i, 224), printed some "Essays of Sir William Temple." According to that quaint chronicler, Simpson was "one whose piety and virtue had measured the chains of Providence," and who "accordingly made a due estimate of all occurrences." His great integrity, we are told, gained for him wide respect, and his industry was leading to a rapid acquisition of wealth.

² Although Congreve had been at school and college with Swift and his cousin, there is nothing to indicate any great intimacy between him and them, which may be accounted for by the fact that Congreve was their junior ("Prose Works," *passim*). It is Congreve's comedy of the "Double Dealer," then appearing on the London stage, to which Swift alludes.

³ The verses with the heading "To Mr. Congreve written in November 1693" will be found in the "Poetical Works."

APPENDIX I

LETTERS FROM THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT, SENIOR

AS affording some idea of the characteristics inherited by Swift from his paternal relations, the following letters seem of sufficient interest to justify their inclusion in this Appendix. The originals are preserved amongst Bishop Kennet's manuscripts in the British Museum (Lansdowne, 1039, ff. 130-133).

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT¹ TO THE REV. JOHN WHITEHALL²

May 23, 1667.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS very glad to receive a letter from you, dated the 15th instant, which came to my hands yesterday, and I hope ere this you are at Peterborough, and so now to the favour I am to beg of you. Not long after the King came in I was presented by the Lord Chancellor to Thorpe Mandeville, Co. Northampton,³ and there not being any bishop of the diocese, I did, as others in the like case, take institution of Dr. William Meyricke,⁴ the then pretended Vicar General. A private patron that laid claim to the same living, one Richard Gardner, presently after presents to

¹ The Rev. Thomas Swift (*supra*, p. 59, n. 2) was the second son of Swift's grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Swift of Goodrich. He entered Wadham College, Oxford, in 1653, and proceeded from Balliol College, B.A. in 1656, and M.A. in 1659. After the Restoration he was nominated to the Rectory of Thorpe Mandeville, to which as appears from this letter he was unable to claim institution, and in 1666 became Rector of the Church of St. Edmund in London. He is said by Swift to have died young (Forster's "Life," p. 11). He married a daughter of Sir William Davenant, and so far as is known had only one child, Swift's cousin Thomas.

² The Rev. John Whitehall, who was at Balliol College at the same time as the Rev. Thomas Swift, was then chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough. He became a Canon of Peterborough and held several benefices in that and adjoining dioceses. His death took place in 1686.

³ Thorpe Mandeville, a benefice in the diocese of Peterborough, lies in the north-eastern part of Northamptonshire, adjoining Oxfordshire.

⁴ Meyricke, who was knighted by Charles II, was judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

the same living the present incumbent Edward Pymme,¹ and he takes institution from Dr. Chaworth, who by that time was regularly constituted Vicar General.² Besides us two competitors there was one Sarah Grant, widow, afterwards married to one Jeaven, that possessed all the glebe lands and tithes for several years as a lay fee under a lease from King Charles the First. But she not appearing to maintain her title, we had judgment against her at Northampton Assize, where also the controversy between Pymme, the private patron's presentee, and myself came to be heard, and there our institutions being from two several Vicar Generals at the same time, neither judge nor jury knew what to do, for it did not appear which was the right Vicar General, whereupon a special verdict was found concerning the authority of the Vicar Generals. When we came to inquire after this new trouble not dreamed of before, I went to Dr. Meyricke to learn by what authority he was made Vicar General, and there I found that at Oxford, [in] 1644, King Charles the First had made him Vicar General by a writing attested only by a public notary, but that he had not executed that office of Vicar General till after the return of King Charles the Second, when he had given about sixty institutions. Whereupon I consulted my lawyers, and they told me that if the King had a power to make a Vicar General, which yet was never done before, yet that no act of such a nature could be valid unless it passed under the broad seal, for that the King speaks only by his seal. Whereupon seeing my institution invalid, I was disheartened, and resigned up all my pretended right, and the private patron makes a new presentation to Edward Pymme, and the Bishop gave institution, and he quietly enjoyed the same, and so does to this day.

This is the true state of my former concerns as to the Rectory at Thorpe Mandeville. That which I am now to beg of you is in reference to my discharge from the first fruits, for which I am now sued, and according to the usual method of proceeding in such cases I have a certiorari here enclosed from the first fruits requiring the Bishop of the diocese to make a return of my concerns as to Thorpe Mandeville. I have been at the first fruits office, and there one of the officers acquainted with the matter of fact, and usual way of proceeding, hath given me a copy of the return to be made by the Bishop, here also enclosed. My desire to you is that you would consult the Registrar and cause him to dispatch the return, and if need be to beg the favour of my Lord Bishop that I may have a true and favourable return as soon as

¹ Pymme, who was a graduate of Oxford, is buried at Thorpe Mandeville. He died in the following January.

² Richard Chaworth was appointed in 1663 to the office of Vicar-General. He was also knighted.

possible before the return of the certiorari, viz. before the octave of Trinity. There will also be some fees to be paid the Registrar which I desire you to lay down for me, and I will, as soon as I hear what they are, find out some way to return them to you, which I may safely do by the city carrier, if in your next you will be pleased to inform me where he lies. Pray, pardon this boldness and by your assistance free me from this trouble which now vexes me more than anything else. I assure you there is nothing in the business to my knowledge but what is just and usual in such cases or the like as when men die suddenly after their institutions to a living. Pray let me hear as soon as you can whether my business be like to succeed, and you will very much oblige

Your very humble Servant,

THO. SWIFT.

London House¹ in Aldersgate Street London.

The sad news is that the Duke of Kendal is dead, and the Duke of Cambridge very desperately ill.²

Endorsed—Mr. Swift's certiorari; a letter of Mr. Thomas Swift from London House to Mr. J. Whitehall, Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough, about Thorpe Mandeville.

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT TO THE REV. JOHN WHITEHALL

DEAR SIR,

YOURS I received with Mr. Secretary's and am much troubled that I cannot see any likelihood to end my troubles about Thorpe Mandeville, by reason I cannot easily think of anybody here at London so well acquainted with my former concerns in Northamptonshire as to be able to make such an affidavit as Mr. Secretary desires. For my brother being a lawyer was most entrusted with the management of my business and he is in Ireland,³ and

¹ The Bishop of London, from whose house the Rev. Thomas Swift dates this letter, was Humphrey Hinchman. He appears to have been related to the Davenants.

² These were infant children of James II. The Duke of Kendal died, at the age of ten months, the day before this letter was written, and the Duke of Cambridge, who had been knighted and elected K.G. as well as created a peer, died in his fourth year on 26 June following.

³ The allusion is evidently to his eldest brother Godwin (*supra*, p. 8, n. 1), from whom the well-known Irish family seated at Swiftsheath in the county of Kilkenny descends. The story of Godwin Swift's life has yet to be told. He has suffered at the hands of his nephew the Dean, who did not find in him a kindred spirit, and at the hands of the Dean's biographers who have written about him without knowledge. An account given of him by his own grandson (Deane Swift's "Essay," pp. 17-22) leaves the impression that outside his own profession, Godwin Swift was a crazed and unsuccessful speculator in various

the attorney was one Mr. Houseman of Banbury¹ who is dead. I have been at the first fruits' office and they tell me that Mr. Secretary seems somewhat too scrupulous, the certiorari enjoining an inquiry after such things, but not binding us to prove it upon oath beforehand before the Barons, and I must needs say that it seems severe to have us prove that before the Barons which they have referred to the inquiry of the Bishop; but I will not dispute Mr. Secretary's desires, but only desire him to search the register, and he shall find that one Gabriel Bridges² before me, about the year 1634, upon a law-suit quitted the rectory and took institution to it as to a vicarage, and in anno 1661 or 62 one . . . Diggle took institution to it as to a vicarage, which might well be put into the return, and thereby it will safely appear that the rectory was claimed as a lay fee, besides if you consult the churchwardens' return to the Articles of Visitation 1662 or since, I believe the whole business will appear there, besides the whole voice of the country will avouch it, for by an high hand it was kept from the church from the year 1644 or thereabouts as a lay fee, and I was the first after the King came in that endeavoured to restore it to the Church to my undoing then and constant trouble to this day.

However if Mr. Secretary pleases he may intermix some such expressions where he doubts anything as these—*ut dicitur*—in

business enterprises, but the fact remains that he amassed a sufficient fortune—a result hardly attainable by the mere practice of his profession—not only to support the innumerable children whom his four wives bore him, but also to endow a family that has lasted to the present day. All that has so far been discovered on record about him is that on 12 November, 1650, he was admitted a student of Gray's Inn, that on 9 July, 1660, he was called to the English, and on 12 May, 1663, to the Irish Bar, and that he was for a time, prior to 13 June, 1668, when he ceased to hold the office, Attorney-General for the Duke of Ormond's palatinate of Tipperary. To these sparse facts may be added such light as is thrown on his character by the following petition which he addressed to the first Duke of Ormond while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—"That your petitioner having been employed as counsel to draw the last will and testament of Dame Elizabeth Hamilton, both by herself, when she was of sound and disposing memory, and Sir Francis Hamilton, Baronet, her husband, did directly according to those directions, and not otherwise, draw the same; that Colonel Francis Willoughby and Elizabeth his wife being aggrieved at the said will, have made it their business in all companies over this city [Dublin] to vilify your petitioner, and to charge him with perjury, cheating and forgery, in relation to the said will; that your petitioner's good name being dearer to him than any earthly thing he enjoys, and the crimes charged upon him being so foul, and he not in the least guilty of any of them, he humbly prays that he may have liberty, for the vindication of his innocence and reparation of what damage he hath sustained to commence his action for the foresaid scandals against the said Colonel Francis Willoughby, who under colour of his command in the army refuseth to answer your petitioner at law" (Hist. MSS. Com., 9th Report, pt. ii, app., p. 143).

¹ Banbury is only six miles to the north of Thorpe Mandeville.

² He married an aunt of the Rev. Thomas Swift's wife.

quantum scire licet—and the like which he better knows how to do than I can think on upon a sudden. For the return is almost out and my Lord's return, if he will be pleased to grant it, must bear date before the return of the certiorari be out. Since I desire nothing but what is just and honest, prithee use thy interest to get me a dispatch, and the money for the fees I shall pay to any attorney or other person you shall appoint to receive it; do but send me word where and to whom I shall pay it, and I will punctually and faithfully perform it. Prithee pardon me this boldness and trouble and let me hear what I must trust to, were I not so poor as the fire hath made me,¹ I would pay the *primitiae* rather than undergo this trouble, and had I not been basely cheated by one that I entrusted with doing it formerly, I had not so troubled you and been perplexed myself. I will go on purpose, God willing, to Mr. Stratford, and let him know your commands. Mr. Roger Sheldon is, as you guessed, gone long since to Oxford. I have now run my letter to an unreasonable length and therefore shall add no more but that, I am,

Your very humble Servant,

THO. SWIFT.

London House in Aldersgate Street, London.

June 6 [1667].

Addressed—To the Reverend Mr. John Whitehall, Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, at Castor, near Peterborough.

APPENDIX II

JEUX D'ESPRIT, OR CASTILIAN TRIFLES

THE talent of making puns, said Swift, no man ever despised that excelled in it. His own case is the strongest proof of the truth of his remark. No one that studies the *Journal to Stella* or the essays in this Appendix will deny that Swift was *facile princeps* in the talent or art, whichever it may be, of making puns. As Forster says ("Life," p. 192), "best and worst have contended for the palm of laughter and Swift was unapproached in both." No less certain is it that Swift considered no pains too great to ensure him the throne amongst punsters. Trifles in a sense these

¹ The church of St. Edmund, of which he was Rector, was one of those burned during the fire of London in the preceding autumn.

Castilian compositions are, yet trifles though they be hours of thought have been expended, and the riches of a well-stored mind have been outpoured in their elaboration. Throughout his life Swift had indulged in this outlet for his wit. His chief confederates were the friends of his youth, the three Ashes. Whether Swift stood to them in the relation of teacher or pupil, (the former seems to me the most probable) is not known, but certainly he was the leader; and the four friends had developed together into accomplished punmakers. When Swift began to mix in other circles the pursuit, calculated as he found it was to recommend him to his fashionable friends, assumed a more serious purpose. With the Berkeleys "to deafen them with puns and rhyme" was found a road to favour, and with the Ormonds it was probably no less successful.

But the great victory of the pun was when the Earl of Pembroke was laid captive at Swift's feet by a well-timed *bon mot*. As with viceregal attention Pembroke listened to the learned disquisition of a Dublin physician on the instinct of the bee, and was told how the inhabitants of the hive form themselves into nations and commonwealths, it came as an intense relief to hear Swift's voice proclaiming that the bee nation was one of extraordinary antiquity and reminding the audience that the Hivites were amongst the nations which Joshua was appointed by Moses to conquer. Being a votary to the worship of genius and culture, Pembroke, who had never before heard a pun, was pleased, and perhaps also thought it his duty as viceroy, to encourage this form of Hibernian humour. With the assistance of the Ashe family, of whose proficiency Pembroke was doubtless informed by Swift, the conversation of the viceregal circle became so permeated with puns as to entitle the language in vogue in Dublin Castle to a designation of its own which the chief punster found in the term Castilian. In the following essays, as foils to the jesters, who have a recruit in the person of Pembroke's friend, Sir Andrew Fountaine the *virtuoso*, two Dublin physicians, Ralph Howard and Thomas Molyneux, are introduced. They were the first of a long line of physicians, distinguished for general no less than professional attainments, who have brought fame to the Dublin medical school, and they occupy a permanent place in the annals of Irish families as ancestors respectively of the noble house of Wicklow and of the historic baronets of Castle Dillon. To Pembroke they were known, before his arrival in Ireland—as a son of Howard, to whose daughter Molyneux was married, had travelled on the Continent in Pembroke's train—and they were soon summoned by him to Dublin Castle where their learning, notwithstanding Pembroke's desire to profit by it, proved evidently after a time rather wearisome.

A DIALOGUE IN THE CASTILIAN LANGUAGE¹[SCENE: *Dublin Castle.* TIME: *The Autumn of 1707.*]*Lord Lieutenant.*² Doctor Swift, you know Gemelli says——*Tom Ashe.*³ [*Interrupting quick.*] Jemmi Lee,⁴ my Lord, Jemmy Lee. I know him very well, a very honest gentleman.*Dr. Howard.*⁵ My Lord, there is a great dispute in town, whether this Parliament will be dissolved by your Excellency or only prorogued.⁶*Lord Lieutenant.* Doctor, I did not see you at the Society last meeting.⁷

¹ Portion of this dialogue has been printed by Forster ("Life," pp. 194-196). The remainder is taken from a copy in the Forster Collection. His want of knowledge on Irish subjects led Forster into error in his arrangement of the dialogue, and in some slight alterations he made in the wording. The original of the dialogue was found by Forster at Narford (*supra*, p. 153, n. 1), and was sold on 15 December, 1906, by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge.

² It has been remarked (Forster's "Life," p. 191) that one of the few reproaches brought against Lord Pembroke (*supra*, p. 60, n. 3) was that "his mind too readily took impress from stronger minds," and there are indications in this dialogue that in small things as well as in great, that was the case.

³ Thomas Ashe, the eldest brother of Bishop Ashe and Dillon Ashe (*supra*, p. 90, n. 2), appears to have been originally in the army from which he retired with the rank of captain, and was also sometime a member of the Irish Parliament, sitting first for the borough of Swords, and at a later period for his brother the Bishop's pocket borough of Clogher. From his father, who bore the same Christian name, and who belonged to a branch of an ancient Devonshire family seated in the county of Meath for several generations, Thomas Ashe inherited considerable property, and through his mother, a grand aunt of the first Lord St. George, was influentially connected. He is said to have been "droll in his appearance" owing to his diminutive stature, and to have been such "an eternal unwearied punster" as to consider the reply of a servant that it was "felony to strip an Ash," upon being told by Ashe to draw off his coat, one of the cleverest things ever said. He married apparently a cousin of his own, who had been previously married to a member of Lord Darnley's family, and, having no children, left his property to his wife's brother (Burke's "Landed Gentry," edition 1847; "The Ashe MSS." by Henry Tyler, p. 47).

⁴ *Supra*, p. 43, n. 1.

⁵ Ralph Howard, who was for nearly forty years Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin, died in 1710 ("D. N. B.," xxviii, 57).

⁶ The Irish Parliament was in session that year from 1 July to 30 October, when it was prorogued by Lord Pembroke.

⁷ A Philosophical Society was established in Dublin in that year and appears to have held its opening meeting on 14 August, when a paper was read by Bishop Ashe on "a remarkable hare's tooth" (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 4812). Probably it was before this Society that the dissertation on bees was delivered—possibly by Dr. Molyneux. The Society had two predecessors in which Dr. Molyneux's brother, the well-known William Molyneux, had been a moving spirit, and his son Samuel, who subsequently became attached to the court of George II, was the secretary of the one founded in Lord Pembroke's time.

Dr. Howard. My Lord, your Excellency, I hope is pleased with their proceedings this session.

Lord Lieutenant. Doctor Swift, won't you take another cup of coffee?

Tom Ashe. Pray, Doctor, which is the way to dissolve a Parliament? Should it be done in vinegar or aquafortis?

*Dr. Molyneux.*¹ My Lord, I do not think coffee so proper to help those who are troubled with a lachochymia, or dyspepsia, as the concha of testaceous fishes pulverized. I mean not only those to which nature has denied motion, but all that move in armatura articulata, and are crustaceous, as the *astacus major* and *minor*. Which latter I take to be the crayfish, and both are indeed but a species of the *cancer marinus*. In all which the chelae or acetabula, that is, the extremity of the forceps (improperly called crab's eyes), reduced to powder, Paracelsus recommends as a noble alcali.

Dr. Howard. Chalk or powdered egg shells are full as good.

Tom Ashe. Doctor, what do you think of powdered beef?

Dr. Howard. Mr. Ashe, if I had an engine to shut your mouth I should value it more than that we make use of to stretch open the mouths of our patients.

*Sir Andrew Fountaine.*² The Doctor says that, I suppose, by way of os-tentation.

Dr. Howard. Well but, os . . . a . . . why os, aye. Oh oysters! As for oysters, my Lord, Pliny seems to prefer those of *Brun-dusium*: Martial thinks the best come from *Lacus Lucrinus*; and the British oysters were much celebrated by others. I find in short, my Lord, that the ancients differ very much, and are divided in their opinions about oysters.

Lord Lieutenant. Sir Andrew, do not some authors call that an ostra-schism?

Dr. Howard. Oysters, why a . . . yes, I think our best oysters come from Colchester; my Lord Rivers³ as I take it, has for one of his titles Lord Colchester. He is not Earl of Rivers: he is only Earl Rivers. His name is Savage; the seat of the family is called Rock Savage in Cheshire, as Sir William Dugdale takes notice. 'Tis a noble family, my Lord, a very noble family.

*Dilly Ashe.*⁴ Pray, my Lord, what town in England is that

¹ Thomas Molyneux, who, like his father-in-law Dr. Howard, was for many years Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin, and who was created a baronet, has a claim to be considered the father of Irish archaeology.

² *Supra*, p. 61, n. 4.

³ *Supra*, p. 227, n. 1.

⁴ Dillon Ashe has been already noticed (*supra*, p. 42, n. 2). The lady who gave her hand to Dilly and was not expected by Swift to lead Dilly an easy life, was a cousin of his own—a daughter of Sir George St. George of Dunmore. Bishop Ashe had previously married one of her sisters.

where the people may afford to keep the best fires, and the Lord is best able to put them out?

Sir Andrew Fountaine. 'Tis Newcastle, I suppose, because there are the most coals, and the Duke of Newcastle is very rich, and rich folks can do anything, and so they can put out fires.

Dilly Ashe. No, 'tis Cole-chester, and the Lord is Lord Rivers.

Dr. Molyneux. Ay, but, Mr. Ashe, there are no coals at Colchester, you should have named a place famous for coals
κατ' ἐξοχήν.

Tom Ashe. Pray, Doctor, when a cat takes a cane what does she design to do with it?

Dilly Ashe. Well . . . a . . . But if puss were tyed to a post, how would she be useful in a library?

Dr. Molyneux. Why to scratch those that came to steal the books.

Dilly Ashe. What, and be tied to a post; no, no, she would be useful as a cat-a-log.

*Bishop of Clogher.*¹ [*Whispering Doctor Swift.*] There's another Catherine, to make up my set, Mrs. Catherine Logg, Kattylog.

Sir A. Fountaine. Doctor Ashe, what famous physician is it, that if he were alive, we should be most afraid to go to cuffs with.

Dilly Ashe. Let make—stay, Doctor Hand.

Sir A. Fountaine. No, he's alive. 'Tis Bumbast-us [*Paracelsus*].²

Dr. Howard. I hear you are very much against the way of making Popes; you will allow no manner of Petrification.

Dr. Swift. Pray, Doctor Ashe, what physician in this town is the greatest schoolman in this world—Don't you know Doctor Dun-Scotus.³

Bishop of Clogher. My Lord, has your Excellency considered whence comes the common saying among us of tag, rag, and bobtail?

Lord Lieutenant. No; but now on the sudden I should think it were a description of the three ways that beggars order their dress. Tag—that is, when their rents are sewn, tackt, or pinn'd together. Rag—that is, when they hang down in tatters. Bobtail—that is, when the rags are torn off, as they usually are when they begin to be troublesome and daggel in the dirt.

Sir A. Fountaine. Poz-z-z-atively 'tis so, my Lord Bishop.

Bishop of Clogher. Be assured it is, Sir Andrew. But pray, my

¹ As might be expected (*supra*, p. 175. n. 3) Bishop Ashe seems to have regarded the manufacture of puns from a scientific standpoint.

² Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus, otherwise Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, a German-Swiss physician and alchemist.

³ The allusion is to Sir Patrick Dun (*supra*, p. 137, n. 1), and the play is upon the name of the learned Joannes Duns Scotus.

Lord, whence comes the way of calling a man fellow, when we have a mind to abuse him, as base fellow, pitiful fellow etc. I believe it may be a corruption of the French word *filou*.

Lord Lieutenant. It may be so, my Lord, or it mought be from the word *felo*, which signifies all sorts of rogues, and was formerly more used in common speech than now. However, your Lordship's may be the truer one.

Bishop of Clogher. Oh, my Lord, your Excellency's is much more natural.

THE DYING SPEECH OF THOMAS ASHE SENT IN A LETTER TO THE
EARL OF PEMBROKE WHILE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.¹

TOM ASHE died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my Lord Lieutenant's favour, that it struck him into a fever. I here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in short-hand. It is something long, and a little incoherent; but he was several hours in delivering it, and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus:

MY FRIENDS,

IT is time for a man to look grave, when he has one foot there. I once had only a punnic fear of death; but of late I have pondered it more seriously. Every fit of coughing hath put me in mind of my coffin; though dissolute men seldomest think of dissolution. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good wine, must now be myself supported by a small bier. A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, this man is to be a great traveller; he will soon be at the diet of Worms, and from thence go to Ratisbone. But now I understand his double meaning. I desire to be privately buried, for I think a public funeral looks like Bury fair; and the rites of the dead too often prove wrong to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither few nor all. A dying man should not think of obsequies but ob se quies. Little did I think you would so soon see poor Tom stown under a tomb-stone. But as the mole crumbles the mold about her, so a man of small mold, before I am old, may molder away. Sometimes I've rav'd that I should revive; but physicians tell me, that when once the great artery has drawn the heart awry, we shall find the cor di all, in spite of all the highest cordial.

Brother, you are fond of Daffy's elixir; but when death comes,

The speech is said to have been given by Sir Andrew Fountaine to Dr. Monsey, and communicated by the latter to Deane Swift.

the world will see that, in spite of Daffy, down Dilly. Whatever doctors may design by their medicines, a man in a dropsy drops he not, in spite of Goddard's drops, though none are reckoned such high drops?—I find death smells the blood of an Englishman: a fee faintly fumbled out will be a weak defence against his fee-fa-fum. P. T. are no letters in death's alphabet; he has not half a bit of either: he moves his sithe, but will not be moved by all our sighs. Everything ought to put us in mind of death: physicians affirm, that our very food breeds it in us; so that, in our dieting, we may be said to die eating. There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as di-arrhœa, diabetes, di-sentery: but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as di-accodium, di-apente, di-ascordium. I perceive Dr. Howard (and I feel how hard) lay thumb on my pulse, then pulls it back, as if he saw lethum in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no physic like a sick phiz. He thinks I shall decease before the day cease; but before I die, before the bell hath toll'd, and Tom Tollman is told that little Tom, though not old, has paid nature's toll, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First, let gamesters consider that death is a hazard and passage, upon the turn of a die. Let lawyers consider it as a hard case. And let punners consider how hard it is to die jesting, when death is so hard in digesting.

As for my Lord Lieutenant the Earl of Mungo-merry,¹ I am sure he be-wales my misfortune; and it would move him to stand by, when the carpenter, while my friends grieve and make an odd splutter, nails up my coffin. I will make a short affidavi-t, that if he makes my epitaph, I will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful subject. His Excellency may say, that the art of punning is dead with Tom. Tom has taken all puns away with him, *Omne tulit pun-Tom*.—May his Excellency long live tenant to the Queen in Ireland! We never Herberd so good a governor before. Sure he mun-go-merry home, that has made a kingdom so happy. I hear my friends design to publish a collection of my puns. Now I do confess, I have let many a pun go, which did never pungo: therefore, the world must read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges*. I have had several forebodings that I should soon die; I have late been often at committees, where I have sat *de die in diem*. I conversed much with the Usher of the Black Rod:² I saw his medals; and woe is me dull soul, not to consider they are but dead men's faces stamped over and over by the living, which will shortly be my condition.³

¹ The Earl of Pembroke's second title of Montgomery is alluded to here.

² That office was then held by Sir Andrew Fountaine.

³ A large collection of coins was purchased from Fountaine by Lord Pembroke.

Tell Sir Andrew Fountaine, I ran clear to the bottom, and wish he may be a late a-river where I am going. He used to brook compliments. May his sand be long a running; not quick sand, like mine! Bid him avoid poring upon monuments and books; which is in reality but running among rocks and shelves, to stop his course. May his waters never be troubled with mud or gravel, nor stopped by any grinding stone! May his friends be all true trouts, and his enemies laid as flat as flounders! I look upon him as the most fluent of his race; therefore let him not despond. I foresee his black rod will advance to a pike, and destroy all our ills.

But I am going; my wind in lungs is turning to a winding sheet. The thoughts of a pall begin to apall me. Life is but a vapour, *car elle vapour la moindre cause*. Farewell: I have lived *ad amicorum fastidium*, and now behold how fast I di um!

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there: but they must be pardoned in a dying man.

THE ADDRESS OF THE DOCTOR AND THE GENTLEMEN OF IRELAND
TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE ON HIS APPOINTMENT IN 1708 AS
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.¹

HUMBLY Sheweth, That since your Lordship is new deckt for the sea, your petitioners have been excluded a sig-navi or cast-aways; whereof they cannot fathom the cause.² For your Lordship is the Doctor's peculiar governor, since he that is Admiral of the Fleet must be so of the Swift. You were not used to look Stearne upon your visitants, nor to keep abaft while we were afore. Pray, my Lord, have a car'-in-a new office, not to disoblige your old friends. Remember, be-fore-castle puns, you never heard any in your life. We are content to be used as the second rate, as becomes men of our pitch. If Tom Ashe were here, he would never keep at land, but pump hard for a new sea pun. I designed to have Mr. Keel-hawld to your Lordship yesterday, but you saw no company. Thus we are kept under hatches, and cannot compass our point. I have a Deal of stories to tell your Lordship, and tho' you may have heard them before, I should be glad to Chat'em

¹ The original of this address was found by Forster at Narford ("Life," p. 235), and appears to have been sold on 15 December, 1906, by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge.

² In a copy of the first lines of the address preserved in the Forster Collection the following sentences occur here: The lower tire with attending you. Some of us are men-of-war well timber'd, and heart of oak, and properly under your command. But, your Lordship is, etc.

over again; but I am now sick, tho' I hope not near Grave's-end. But your Lordship must give me leave to say that if we lose the sight of you in England as well as in Ireland, Fortune who is a Grey, and not a Green-Witch, is much in our Dept-for't. But how can your friends of Ireland approach, while the seamen punch us away, to get at you. But, while you canvas their affairs, can they not drink their canvas, to your health at home; and swallow Ph'lip at a sup; and when they see your Lordship's flag-on, toss up another of their own? But your petitioners with humble submission can not see why you should be much pleased with your new office, considering the mischiefs likely to happen under your administration. First, the seamen in complaisance to my Lady, will take a young Arundel¹ into every ship, whom they begin to call by a diminutive name, Arundelet. Then, upon your Lordship's account, the merchant will turn gamester, and be ready to venture all upon any Main, without fearing a Cinque. Again, while your Lordship is Admiral, I doubt we shall lose all our sea-fearing Men, for, as you are likely to manage it, every seaman that has any merit, will soon be landed. What a confusion must this cause! and more still, when our boats must be all troubled with a Wherry-go-nimble, and our ships new-trimmed must all dance Rigg-i'-Downs. We agree your Lordship will certainly beat the French: but what honour is that? Alas, they are all Galli-slaves already. My Lord: your petitioners beg one hour a week to attend, for which they shall ever pray; that after your Lordship has subdued the French and Spaniard, and given us an honourable Peace, you may retire many years hence from the wet to the dry Downs; from the boats-swains looking to their ship to the swains looking to their sheep, and, that my meaning may not be mistaken, from those Downs where Sails are hoist and rais'd to those of Sailsbury (Wilton by Salisbury).

¹ *Supra*, p. 110, n. 2.

APPENDIX III

LISTS OF LETTERS.

1 November 1708 to 1 November 1709¹

TO	FROM	POSTAGE
1708.	1708.	
Nov. 9. Abp. of Dublin.	Nov. 1. Bp. of Clogher.	
Bp. of Clogher.	to Mr. Walls ² . . . }	1s.
Dr. Raymond. ³	10. Dr. Smith ⁴ . . . }	
Mr. Henley. ⁵	Mr. Crowe. ⁶	
Mr. Walls.	Mr. Domville. ⁷	
Mr. Percival. ⁸	Mr. Henley.	
12. MD. 10.	Mr. Collier ⁹ . . .	2d.
Mrs. Davis. ¹⁰	12. Patty Rolt ¹¹ . . .	2d.
18. Mr. Crowe.	MD. 9. . . .	6d.
20. Dr. Smith.	Mrs. Davis.	
23. MD. 11.	22. Patty Rolt . . . }	8d.
Patty Rolt.	Mr. Reading ¹² . . . }	
27. Mother.	25. Mr. Bernage ¹³ . . .	6d.
30. Dean of St. Patrick's.	Dec. 4. Abp. of Dublin.	
(Abp. of Dublin enclosed.)	6. Earl of Abercorn. ¹⁴	
	8. Mother.	

¹ Taken from "Account of Expenses," Forster Collection, No. 506.² *Supra*, p. 69, n. 3.³ *Supra*, p. 120, n. 2.⁴ *Supra*, p. 178.⁵ *Supra*, p. 112, n. 2.⁶ Probably William Crowe, the Recorder of Blessington, whose extraordinary address to Queen Anne after the battle of Blenheim is parodied in the "Poetical Works." Some "barbarous injustice" done to him by Lord Wharton seems to have preyed on his mind, and led to his death in 1710 ("Prose Works," *passim*).⁷ *Supra*, p. 145, n. 2.⁸ *Supra*, p. 57, n. 3.⁹ *Supra*, p. 114.¹⁰ This lady is alluded to in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 432), where she is described as "the schoolmaster's widow." She was then living at York.¹¹ Swift's favourite cousin, frequently mentioned in the Journal to Stella. She was then deserted by a "rogue of a husband," and in very bad circumstances.¹² *Supra*, p. 55, n. 1.¹³ An officer known to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*).¹⁴ James Hamilton, sixth Earl of Abercorn. Swift's acquaintance with him was probably through his Countess, the only child of Sir Robert Reading of Dublin ("Prose Works," *passim*).

TO		FROM	POSTAGE	
1708.		1708.		
Dec. 2.	Mr. Domville.	Dec. 13.	Mr. Walls }	1s.
14.	MD. 12.		Mr. Walls }	
30.	MD. 13.		Dean of St. Patrick's.	
1709.		20.	MD. 10 }	1s.
Jan. 4.	Bp. of Clogher.		Mr. Walls (With a	
6.	Abp. of Dublin.		bill). }	
	Mother.	23.	Mrs. Davis	3d.
	MD. 14.	26.	Dr. Raymond . . .	8d.
13.	MD. 15.	30.	MD. 11	6d.
	Governor of Virginia. ¹	1709.		
22.	MD. 16.	Jan. 7.	Bp. of Clogher.	
29.	MD. 17.		(By Mr. Reading.)	
Feb. 4.	Lord Somers.		Unknown hand	
	Tom Ashe. ²		with a slur.	
12.	MD. 18.		Governor of Virginia.	
	Bp. of Clogher.		(From Paris.)	
24.	Mother.	13.	Freckleton }	9d.
26.	MD. 19.		Mother }	
Mar. 5.	Dean of St. Patrick's.	19.	Parvisol ³ }	1s. 2d.
8.	Mr. Ford. ⁴		Mr. Ford. }	6d.
	Governor of Virginia.	28.	Bp. of Clogher . . .	
15.	MD. 20.		Sir Matthew Dudley. ⁵	
	Mr. Philips of Copen-		Sir Matthew Dudley.	
	hagen.	Feb. 1.	MD. 12	6d.
24.	Lord Primate.	4.	Mr. Walls }	1s.
	(With Lord Wharton		Mr. Reading . . . }	
	enclosed.)	8.	Mr. Bernage . . .	6d.
26.	Abp. of Dublin.	12.	Mr. Domville.	
	(Enclosed Dean of		(From Geneva.)	
	St. Patrick's.)	18.	Mr. Gordon.	
31.	Mr. Domville (at	19.	MD. 13 }	1s.
	Geneva.)		MD. 14 }	6d.
	Bp. of Clogher.		Mrs. de Coudre ⁶ .	1s.
	(J. B. ⁷ and Parvisol		Abp. of Dublin . .	
	enclosed.)	22.	Mr. Philips.	
Apr. 2.	MD. 21.		(From Copenhagen.)	
9.	Bp. of Clogher.	24.	Mr. Wesley ⁸ . . .	1s.
	(By Mr. Addison.)		(Bill for watch.)	
15.	Mr. Addison.	Mar. 3.	Mother	3d.
19.	Mother.	10.	MD. 15.	
	MD. 22.	15.	MD. 16	6d.
21.	Patty Rolt.	19.	Dean of St. Patrick's	6d.
23.	Earl of Berkeley.		Abp. of Dublin . .	6d.
24.	Mr. Dubois.	30.	Bp. of Clogher . . }	1s. 6d.
28.	Mr. Ford.		Mr. Walls }	
			J. B. }	

¹ Robert Hunter (*supra*, p. 113, n. 3).

² *Supra*, p. 375, n. 3.

⁴ Charles Ford ("Prose Works," *passim*).

³ *Supra*, p. 118, n. 3.

⁵ Dudley was one of the Whig friends whom Swift tried to protect under the Tory government ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*).

⁶ Stella's landlady in Dublin.

⁷ Joseph Beaumont, the linen-draper of Trim.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 180, n. 6.

TO	FROM	POSTAGE
1709.	1709.	
May 9. MD. 23. (From Leicester.) Bp. of Clogher. Mr. Addison. Mr. Tooke. Lord Mountjoy. ²	Apr. 4. Mrs. B[arto]n. ¹ Patty Rolt 8. MD. 17 20. Patty Rolt 23. Earl of Berkeley. 24. Mother } Bp. of Clogher . . } Mr. Ford.	2d. 6d. 2d. 9d.
11. Mr. Steele. Mrs. Barton. Sir A. Fountaine.	May 1. MD. 18 Mr. Addison. (From Ireland.)	6d.
16. Lady Lucy. ³ Mrs. Vanhomrigh.	9. Bp. of Clogher (To Leicester) . . }	1s. 6d.
21. Lord Mountjoy.	MD. 19 }	
26. Sir G. Beaumont. ⁴ Sir A. Fountaine. Mr. Steele. Will Frankland. ⁵ Mrs. Barton.	14. Lord Mountjoy . . }	1s.
30. Lord Mountjoy.	Mr. Steele . . . }	
June 1. Mr. Tooke. Lord Mountjoy. Sir A. Fountaine. Mr. Frankland.	16. Sir A. Fountaine, etc. 21. Mrs. Barton . . . 26. Mrs. Vanhomrigh . }	9d. 6d. 1s.
4. Governor of Virginia. Harry Lost.	Sir A. Fountaine, etc. }	1s.
6. Mrs. Armstrong. Ben Tooke.	28. Bp. of Clogher, etc. Mr. Addison	
13. Lord High Admiral. Lord President. Earl of Berkeley. Lord Mountjoy. Lord Halifax. Mr. Steele. Mrs. Vanhomrigh. MD. 24. (Enclosed to Reading.) Mr. Tooke At Chester—	a little before { Mrs. Armstrong ⁶ and Lady Lucy. Mr. Philips. (From Copenhagen.)	
to 30th. { Mother. Mr. Addison. Bp. of Clogher. In Ireland—	June 6. Will Frankland . . }	6½d.
	Sir A. Fountaine . . }	
	In Ireland—	
	July 1. Mrs. Barton. Sir A. Fountaine. Mishessy. ⁷ Mr. Addison. (Returned me from Chester.) Lord Mountjoy.	
	Aug. 6. Sir A. Fountaine, etc. Lady Giffard. Mother.	
	16. Mr. Philips. (Copenhagen.)	

¹ *Supra*, p. 144, n. 1.

² William Stewart, second Viscount Mountjoy, with whom Swift travelled to London in 1710 ("Prose Works," ii, 4).

³ The widow of Sir Berkeley Lucy, Bart., who was a nephew of Swift's patron, the Earl of Berkeley. She was a daughter of Isaac Walton's friend Charles Cotton ("Prose Works," *passim*).

⁴ *Supra*, p. 153, n. 2.

⁵ The controller of the Post Office, who is frequently mentioned in the Journal to Stella.

⁶ Lady Lucy's sister who was married to Mr. Augustine Armstrong of Great Ormond Street.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 299, n. 1.

TO	FROM	POSTAGE
1709.	1709.	
July 8. Mother.	Mr. Tooke.	
18. Mrs. Barton.	24. Sir A. Fountaine .	6d.
Sir A. Fountaine.	Oct. 6. Lady Giffard . .	4d.
Aug. Sir A. Fountaine.	(Enclosed.)	
Mrs. Barton.	19. MD. (Double	} 4d.
17. Lady Giffard.	letter)	
Sept. 13. Mother.	23. D[ingley]	2d.
Mr. Tooke.	Sir A. Fountaine.	
Parvisol.	Lord Halifax.	
Oct. 20. Mr. Addison.	Mr. Steele.	
H. Cooke.	30. Mr. Addison . . .	} 1s. 6d.
30. Mr. Addison.	Mr. Philips (From	
Mr. Steele.	London)	
Mr. Philips.	Sir A. Fountaine .	
Sir A. Fountaine.	Mother.	
Bp. of Clogher.		

I November 1709 to I November 1710¹

FROM	POSTAGE	FROM	POSTAGE
1709.			
Nov. 26. Mishessy . . .	6d.	Sept. 21. MD.	} 1s. 2d.
to Mr. Morgan ² . . .	6d.	Beaumont	
Dec. 10. Earl of Berkeley .	8d.	25. Morgan	6d.
12. MD.	5d.	MD.	6d.
1710.		Abp.	1s. 6d.
April 8. Lady Berkeley .	6d.	Oct. 26. Morgan	} 1s. 2d.
July 8. Mr. Domville . .	} 1s. 6d.	Parvisol	
Dr. Raymond . . .			

I November 1711 to I November 1712³

TO	FROM	POSTAGE
1711.		
Nov. 1. Lady Oglethorpe. ⁴	Nov. 3. Mrs. Masham.	
Mrs. Masham.	9. Abp. of Dublin (3	} 4s.
3. MD. 33.	packets)	
7. Mrs. Long.	15. Mr. Secretary St. John.	
17. MD. 34.	17. Abp. of Dublin.	
Mr. Lewis.	21. MD. 23.	
Dec. 1. MD. 35.	Mrs. Long.	
14. MD. 36.	Mr. Lewis.	
Bp. of Clogher.	Mr. Warburton. ⁵	
19. Mrs. Long.	Dec. 20. Bp. of Clogher.	
29. MD. 37.	Cousin Deane Swift. ⁶	
Dean of St. Patrick's.	27. MD. 24.	
	Beaumont.	

¹ Taken from "Account of Expenses," Forster Collection, No. 507.² Probably Richard Morgan, a nephew of Dr. Raymond.³ Taken from "Account of Expenses," Forster Collection, No. 508.⁴ *Supra*, p. 354.⁵ The Revd. Thomas Warburton, Swift's curate at Laracor.⁶ *Supra*, p. 10, n. 2.

TO	FROM
1712.	1712.
Jan. 8. Abp. of Dublin.	Jan. 11. MD. 25.
12. MD. 38.	29. MD. 26.
19. Bp. of Clogher.	Bp. of Cloyne. ¹
26. MD. 39.	31. Dr. Sacheverell.
Feb. 1. Dr. Sacheverell.	Feb. 6. Patty Rolt.
9. MD. 40.	11. Bp. of Clogher.
23. MD. 41.	Mr. Walls.
28. Dr. Pratt.	13. Dr. Pratt.
Mr. Harrison.	18. Bp. of Cloyne.
Mar. 8. MD. 42.	Abp. of Dublin.
Mr. Harrison.	Mar. 9. Mr. Harrison.
Bp. of Cloyne.	J. B. and a bit from Pat.
20. Ld. Lansdowne. ²	19. Fetherston.
22. MD. 43.	Ld. Abercorn.
Bp. of Clogher.	MD. 27.
29. Abp. of Dublin.	Bp. of Clogher.
Cousin Deane Swift.	Apr. 10. Abp. of Dublin.
Apr. 10. MD. 44.	Dr. Tisdall.
22. Mrs. Wesley.	Bp. of Cloyne.
25. MD. 45 (short).	Mrs. Wesley.
May 10. MD. 46 (short).	21. MD. 28.
Mrs. V[anhomrigh].	26. Mrs. Wesley.
20. Abp. of Dublin.	28. Bp. of Clogher.
Patty Rolt.	Dr. Pratt.
24. Mrs. Wesley.	May 9. MD. 29.
29. MD. 47.	16. Patty Rolt.
June 17. MD. 48.	June 2. Mrs. Wesley.
Bp. of Clogher.	Mr. Gerrie. ³
26. Abp. of Dublin.	13. MD. 30.
July 3. MD. 49.	27. Jo. Beaumont.
19. MD. 50.	Dr. Raymond.
Aug. 7. MD. 51.	July 4. MD. 31.
Sep. 20. MD. 52.	29. MD. 32.
Oct. 9. MD. 53.	Sept. 23. MD. 33.
20. Abp. of Dublin.	Oct. 22. MD. 34.
Bp. of Cloyne.	
Duke of Ormond.	
31. MD. 54.	

*1 November 1712 to 31 December 1712*⁴

TO	FROM
1712.	1712.
Nov. 18. MD. 55.	Nov. 10. Abp. of Dublin.
Dec. 13. MD. 56.	Dec. 2. MD. 35.
	11. MD. 36.

¹ *Supra*, p. 49, n. 1.

² George Granville, created Lord Lansdowne in December, 1711.

³ The rector of Letcombe Bassett, with whom Swift stayed in the summer of 1714.

⁴ Taken from "Account," Forster Collection, No. 509.

APPENDIX IV

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT JUNIOR AND ROBERT HARLEY

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT (*supra*, p. 184) published in 1710 a sermon with the title, "Noah's Dove: an Earnest Exhortation to Peace, set forth in a sermon [on Isaiah xi, 13, 14], preached on the 7th of November 1710, a Thanksgiving Day, by Thomas Swift, A.M., formerly Chaplain to Sir William Temple, now Rector of Puttenham in Surrey." This work was dedicated to Robert Harley in the "conceited and pedantic" address printed below, and was evidently a source of much amusement to Harley who was wont to tease Swift by calling him Dr. Thomas Swift ("Prose Works," ii, *passim*). It appears from a letter, which I have subjoined, from Thomas Swift to Bernard Lintot, the well-known bookseller, that the sermon was brought under Harley's notice by his librarian, Humphrey Wanley, and that subsequently Thomas Swift sought through Wanley, Harley's patronage for some further literary enterprise of which nothing is now known. The original of this letter is amongst Wanley's manuscripts in the British Museum (Harleian 3781).

THE REV. THOMAS SWIFT TO ROBERT HARLEY

Puttenham, *November 21, 1710.*

SIR,

THE distressed Dove having hovered long upon the wing, and seen all things round her covered with Discord's universal deluge, so that she can find no rest for the sole of her foot, closes up her wearied wings, and presents her olive to you.

That olive, which as it was thought at that time the fittest of all things to be sent to Noah as a sign of the fall of those waters; so may it prove now an auspicious hieroglyph of the abatement of these.

Her humility, Sir, makes her lay this olive at your feet, which should rather be made into a wreath to adorn your head; whose wisdom and justice, like that of Noah's, has preserved you from that flood which overturned the Old World, and has made you judged worthy to be continued as the patriarch of the New.

By which at the helm of this tossed ark, you ride it out secure: for although your vessel, like St. Paul's, is beaten upon by two seas, yet, by your great skill, you bear up against these impetuous engaging waves, steer between those dangerous quicksands, whereon less skilful pilots have shipwrecked, and stem these tides of state.

Sir, that most human, most Christian virtue, which has often been so earnestly recommended from the throne, and so little regarded by those about it; which is praised by so many, and understood by so few; which is still cried up by those that are down, and cried down by those that are up; acknowledges that cool evenness of temper, which is so fitting for a great man, and therefore hopes to find a patron in you.

A virtue, which I have formerly seen so much of in my own wise patron, that I cannot but honour it in any other person in whom I discern the perfections of it; and if the notions I have of it are either not so exact as they should be, or not so lively expressed, to make my readers full amends for what disappointment they may find in my defects, I turn their eyes upon one, in whom they may see the just features of that which I fall so short in the description of; which I desire you to accept of as a sufficient apology for the dedication here presented you by

Your Honour's most obedient, most humble servant,
THO. SWIFT.

REV. THOMAS SWIFT TO BERNARD LINTOT

Puttenham, *December 19, 1711.*

SIR,

I HAVE inclosed in this a scheme for my Lord Treasurer which I desire you would present to Mr. Wanley with my service, because he having done me the favour to introduce my first dedication to his Lordship, I ought as an acknowledgment to his kindness to acquaint him with this. But if Mr. Wanley's being out of town or any other accident prevent his doing this kind office for me, in such case I desire you would take such methods as in your discretion you shall think fitting. And if my Lord should send it back, I desire you would be so kind to me as not to communicate it to anyone else, but send it down to me again. And let what will come of it, pray let me hear as soon as you can, and it will oblige, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
THO. SWIFT.

Addressed.—For Mr. Lintot at the Crosskeys in Temple Bar these.

APPENDIX V

INSCRIPTION FOR THE EARL OF BERKELEY'S
MONUMENT

THE following inscription was written by Swift at the request of Lady Berkeley for the monument erected to her husband (*supra*, p. 237):

H. S. E.

Carolus Comes de Berkely, Vicecomes de Dursley, Baro Berkeley de castro de Berkeley, Dominus Moubray, Segrave, et Bruce; dominus locumtenens comitatûs Glocestriæ; civitatis Glocestriæ magnus seneschallus: guardianus de forestâ de Dean; custos rotulorum comitatûs de Surrey; et Reginæ Annæ à secretioribus consiliis. Ob fidem spectatam, linguarum peritiam, et prudentiam, à rege Gulielmo III. ablegatus et plenipotentarius ad ordines fœderati Belgii per quinque annos arduis reipublicæ negotiis foeliciter invigilavit. Ob quæ merita ab eodem rege (vivente adhuc patre) in magnatum numerum adscriptus, et consiliarius à secretis factus: et ad Hiberniam secundus inter tres summos justiciarios missus. Denique legatus extraordinarius designatus ad Turcarum imperium: et postea, regnante Annâ, ad Cæsarem ablegatus: quæ munia, ingravescente valetudine et senectute, obire nequii. Natus Londini, 1649. Obiit, 1710. Ætatis 62.

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM MRS. VANHOMRIGH

THE following letter is addressed by Mrs. Vanhomrigh (*supra*, p. 299, n. 1) to Joshua Dawson, the permanent secretary at Dublin Castle, with whom her husband in his capacity of a Commissioner of the Revenue had official relations. The original is preserved in the Forster Collection, No. 584.

MRS. VANHOMRIGH TO JOSHUA DAWSON

London, 3 *January*, 1707/8.

I WILL flatter myself that the former civilities and friendship Mr. Dawson has expressed and I and my family have received from him, as they shall not be forgot by us, so being out of your kingdom for some time I hope will not cause us quite out of his thought; therefore I give you this trouble to let you know we are alive, I thank God, and though our getting to the ship was with great danger good Providence brought us safe on board and we had a fine passage. I hear according to the usual way of Dublin tattle we meet with several accidents which we knew nothing of but have the happiness to live to hear. After ten days stay at Chester for a coach we have had a very successful journey hither without the least accident. I have not been abroad being a little tired. I have had the favour to see several friends and acquaintance at my lodging. Please to give my humble service to your lady with the respects of my young family and accept the same from, Sir,

Your humble servant,
E. VANHOMRIGH.

I beg the favour of you to give our humble service to Lord Kildare's family,¹ Doctor Navors and lady. I take the liberty to inclose this for Mr. Partinton² which you will oblige me to send him. I lodge at Mr. Goodere's at the Two Green Flower-Pots, in Charles Street near St. James's Square.

APPENDIX VII

THE REV. JOHN SHOWER AND THE EARL OF OXFORD

THESE letters (*supra*, p. 310, n. 4) were first printed by Sheridan. He appends ("Works," xi, 210) a note in which he states that Harley's answer was written by Swift "as appears not only from his handwriting, but particularly from a correction in the original draft." It is to be remembered, however, that the answer is dated 21 Dec-

¹ Robert, nineteenth Earl of Kildare, who then held the title, was not yet married. The reference must be to his sisters.

² Mr. Peter Partinton was one of the executors of her husband's will, and his son eventually succeeded to the Vanhomrigh property.

ember, and that in the Journal to Stella ("Prose Works," ii, 303), under date 22 December, Swift records that on that day he saw with Harley a letter "from a great Presbyterian parson to him, complaining how their friends had betrayed them by passing their Conformity Bill," and also an answer written by Harley which his friends would not let him send, but which in Swift's opinion was a very good one. Notwithstanding this passage it is, of course, possible that the answer was drafted by Swift. Sir Henry Craik thinks ("Life," i, 301) a writer "more versed in the tricks of politics" would have adopted a conciliatory tone, and apart from "the deliberate sarcasm" of the composition, the remark to Stella that the answer was "a very good one" is rather evidence than otherwise that the answer was Swift's work.

THE REV. JOHN SHOWER TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

London, *December 20, 1711.*

MY LORD,

THOUGH there be little reason to expect your Lordship should interpose in favour of the Dissenters, who have been so shamefully abandoned, sold, and sacrificed by their professed friends; the attempt is however so glorious, in all its views, tendencies, and prospects, that, if it be not too late, I would most humbly beg your Lordship not to be immoveable as to that matter. The fatal consequences of that bill cannot be expressed: I dread to think of some of them; and shall as much rejoice with many thousands, if you may be instrumental to prevent it. May Heaven direct you in this, and all your great affairs for the public good of your country! I am, my honoured Lord,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO THE REV. JOHN SHOWER

December 21, 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

HAD not a very painful distemper confined me, I had desired the favour of seeing you some time since; and I should have spoken very plainly to you, as I shall whenever I see you. I have long foretold, that the Dissenters must be saved whether they will or not; they resist even restraining grace; and would almost convince me, that the notion of man's being a mechanism is true in every part. To see men moved as puppets, with rage for their interest; with envy acting against their own interest, having men's persons in admiration: not only those of their own body, who certainly are the first who pretended to consummate wisdom and

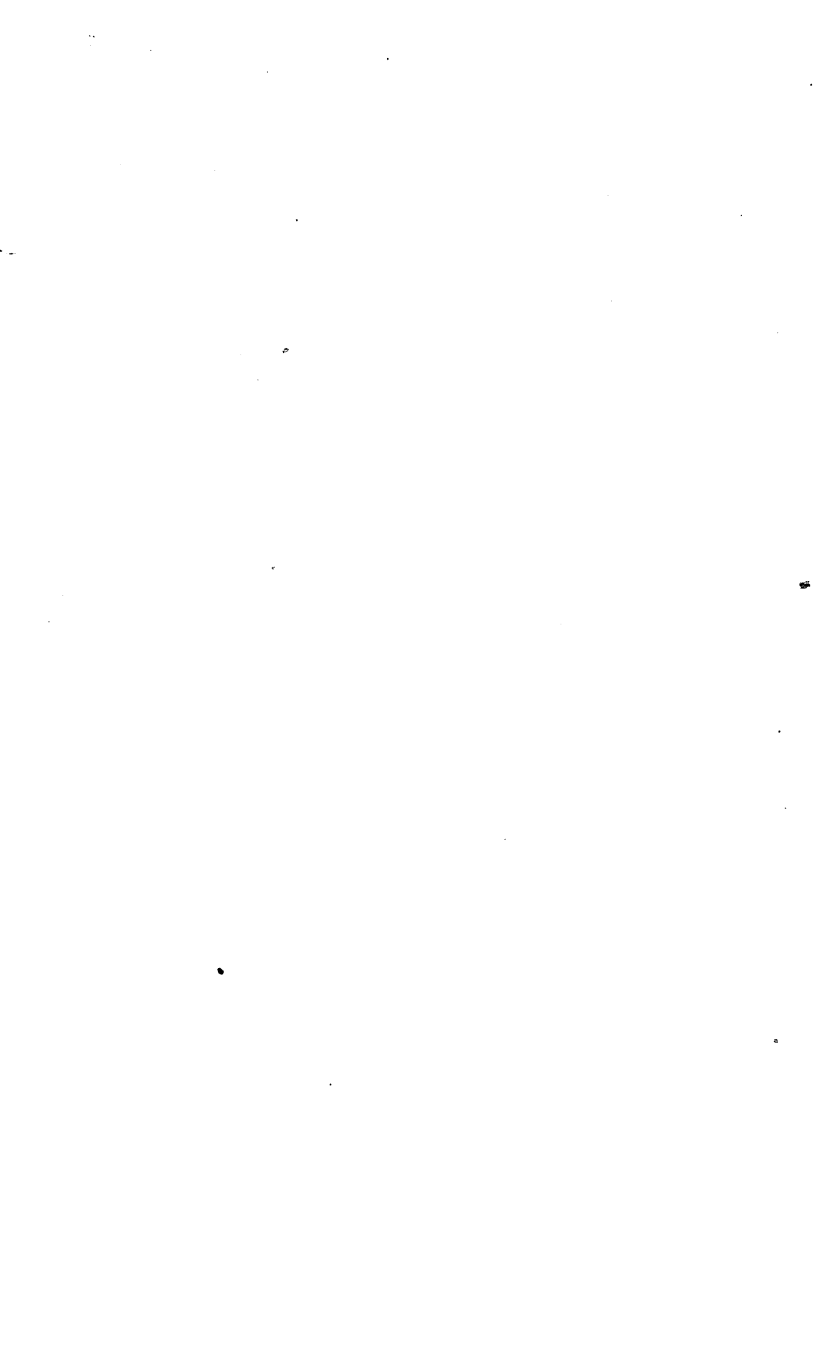
deep policy, yet have shown that they knew not the common affairs of this nation, but are dwellers in thick clay. They are epicureans in act, puritans in profession, politicians in conceit, and a prey and laughing-stock to the deists and synagogue of the libertines, in whom they have trusted, and to whose infallibility they have sold themselves and their congregations. All they have done or can do, shall never make me their enemy. I pity poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles, and the liberty of this nation, without leaving so much salt as to keep the body of them sweet: for there has not been one good bill, during that term of years, which they have not opposed in the House of Commons: contrary to the practice of those very few Dissenters which were in the Parliament in King Charles the Second's time, who thereby united themselves to the country gentlemen, the advantage of which they found for many years after. But now they have listed themselves with those, who had first denied our Saviour, and now have sold them.

I have written this only to show you, that I am ready to do everything that is practicable, to save people who are bargained for by their leaders, and given up by their ministers: I say, their ministers; because it is averred and represented, that the Dissenting ministers have been consulted, and are consenting to this bill. By what lies and arts they are brought to this, I do not care to mention; but, as to myself, the engineers of this bill thought they had obtained a great advantage against me: finding I had stopped it in the House of Commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did, or did not pass. This would have no influence with me: for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of one side or other. I guess, by your letter, that you do not know that the bill yesterday passed both Houses, the Lords having agreed to the amendments made by the Commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head.

What remains is, to desire that the Dissenters may seriously think from whence they are fallen, and do their first works—and recover their reputation of sobriety, integrity, and love of their country, which is the sincere and hearty prayer of, Reverend Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

OXFORD.



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